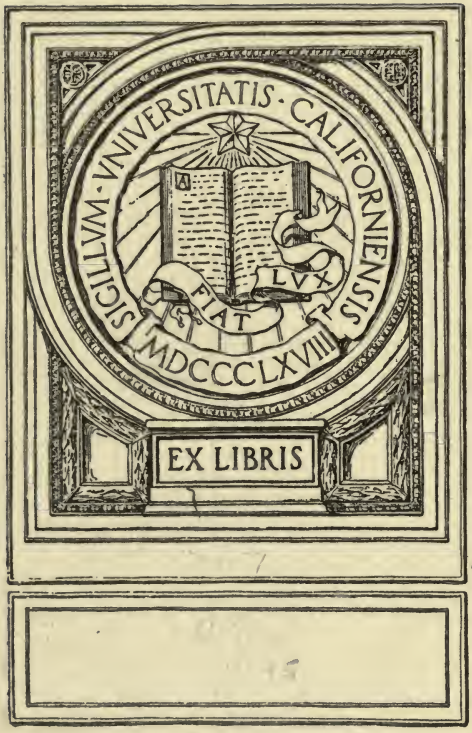
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE HISTORIES

WADHAM

YB 17796


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

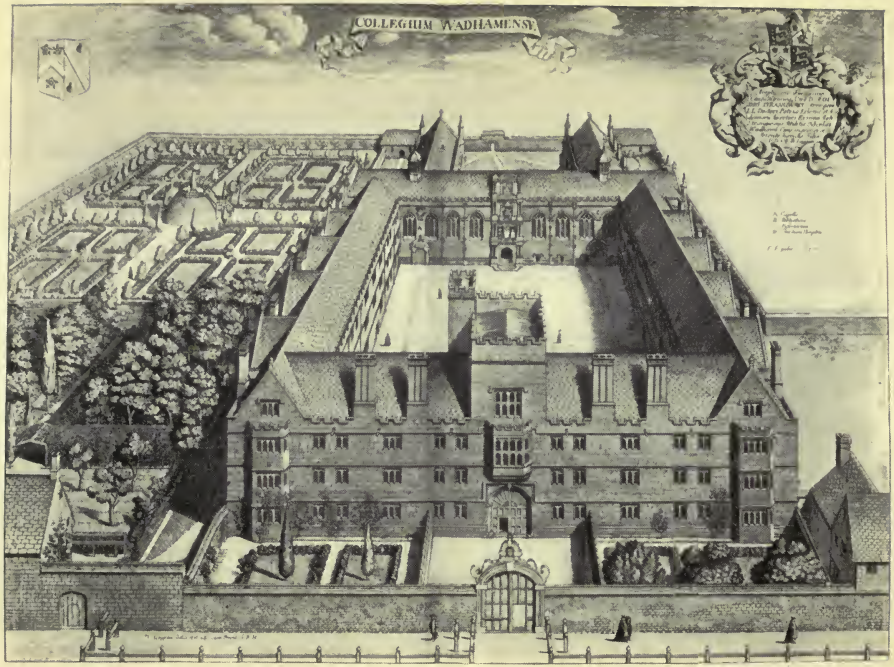
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/wadhamcollege00wellrich

COLLEGE
HISTORIES
OXFORD

WADHAM COLLEGE

ALERE FLAMMAM



WADHAM COLLEGE IN 1675

(LOGGAN'S VIEW)

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

WADHAM COLLEGE

BY

J. WELLS, M.A.
AUTHOR OF "OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES"

LONDON
F. E. ROBINSON
20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY
1898

LF725
W4

Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press

PREFACE

It ought to be more easy to write a short history of Wadham than of any other college in Oxford; for in the case of no other are the already existing books so complete and so good. Mr. Jackson's fine quarto ("Wadham College," Clarendon Press, 1893), with its elaborate illustrations, is admirable on all points that concern the fabric, besides containing much other valuable and interesting matter; and in Mr. R. B. Gardiner's "Register of Wadham College" (George Bell and Sons, vol. i. 1889, vol. ii. 1895), the names of all who have been connected with Wadham in any way, are given with a fulness which no other college can yet equal. Both these books, and especially Mr. Gardiner's volumes, have been used constantly, and I wish at once to express my great obligations to them; it would indeed be a pleasure if my small book induced any Wadham man to become familiar with these larger books. Apart from these works, and the regular Oxford authorities, Wood, Hearne, &c., the "Dictionary of National Biography" has been found especially useful.

Except in Chapter V. I have used but little material that has not appeared in print before; my object in writing has not been to publish unprinted documents, but to render easily accessible the material which has been collected by others. If I have succeeded in making the history of Wadham interesting to Wadham men, and in

336569

telling them the story of the pictures and the stones that they see every day, I am well satisfied.

Since this book aims at being popular, a large number of biographical details have been introduced; in doing this it has seemed unnecessary to dwell on the lives of really great men like Blake or Wren; they belong to English history rather than to the story of their college. Much more space has been devoted to the men who in their day played a great part in Oxford, or to those who once were well known, though forgotten now.

The buildings of Wadham have changed so little that it has seemed better to show them as they are rather than to reproduce old views; the Loggan plate is of course a necessary exception.

I am especially grateful to Mr. Gardiner for his kindness in reading through my book when in type-written sheets; he saved me from several mistakes, and made many valuable suggestions.

Wadham College, Oxford,
Nov. 28, 1898.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE FOUNDERS	1
II.	THE BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE	10
III.	THE COLLEGE STATUTES AND THE MEMBERS OF THE FIRST FOUNDATION	20
IV.	WADHAM COLLEGE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR	35
V.	WADHAM COLLEGE TILL THE RESTORATION (1642–1660)	55
VI.	WADHAM IN THE TIMES OF WARDEN WILKINS	69
VII.	WADHAM COLLEGE TILL THE REVOLUTION	88
VIII.	WADHAM UNDER WARDEN DUNSTER	113
IX.	THE DARK DAYS, 1719–1783	130
X.	THE BEGINNING OF MODERN TIMES. THE DAYS OF WARDEN WILLS AND TOURNAY, 1783–1831	153
XI.	WADHAM UNDER WARDEN SYMONS (1831–1871)	173
XII.	WADHAM ATHLETICS	194

APPENDICES

PAGE

I. THE COLLEGE LIBRARY 209

II. PORTRAITS IN HALL AND ELSEWHERE . . . 213

III. LIST OF WARDENS AT WADHAM COLLEGE . . 216

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

WADHAM COLLEGE IN 1675 (LOGGAN'S VIEW).	*Frontispiece*	
WADHAM COLLEGE	*Facing page*	10
WADHAM QUADRANGLE FROM S.E. . . .	,,	16
THE CHAPEL (LOOKING EAST)	,,	52
WADHAM QUADRANGLE FROM S.W. . . .	,,	74
THE SENIOR COMMON ROOM	,,	110
THE HALL	,,	158
THE WARDEN'S LODGINGS FROM THE NORTH .	,,	176

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDERS

Wadham College may be compared especially with New College and Corpus Christi among its predecessors. All three owed their foundation and endowment to the munificence of a single founder, who started them on their course with buildings so complete as to require little subsequent addition; all three too represented the movement of their time; for, as New College had been founded to preserve the Mediæval Church, and Corpus to spread the New Learning of the Renaissance so Wadham is an example of that revival of liberality which, in the early days of the seventeenth century, did something to repair the losses suffered by Education and the Church in the days of the Reformation. The foundation stone of the college was laid in the year after the death of Thomas Tesdale, to whose benefaction Oxford owes Pembroke College, and in the year before Sir Thomas Sutton obtained his letters-patent for his foundation of the Charterhouse in London.

Nicholas Wadham, who planned and endowed the college which perpetuates his name, was the last male representative of the elder branch of one of the most important untitled families in the West country.

Fuller* says of him: "He had great length in his extraction, breadth in his estate, and depth in his liberality." He himself had been at Corpus Christi College †, and after his marriage with Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Petre, lived at his ancestral mansion of Merifield, near Ilminster, in Somerset, where, Fuller says, "his hospital house was an inn at all times, a court at Xmas." In spite of this great hospitality, the Wadhams accumulated a large private fortune, amounting to £14,000, besides land to the value of £800 a year; and as their lives drew to a close, they, says Wood,‡ "resolved between them to bestow their frugality on some pious use"; for they had no children to whom to leave it, and the sisters of Nicholas were amply provided for by the reversion of the large ancestral estates.

In 1606 Nicholas Wadham founded an almshouse for "eight poor people," in the neighbouring parish of Ilton, where it still exists. According to Antony

* "Worthies" (ed. 1662), vol. ii. p. 30.

† This is the view now most generally adopted, and rests on the authority of a still existing account of Nicholas Wadham, written probably by one of the original members of the foundation, and certainly before 1637. It is confirmed by the resemblances in the Wadham statutes to those of Corpus Christi College, and by the pelican which still crowns the east gable of the Library. On the other hand, Dr. Boswell, one of the original members of Wadham, told Antony Wood that Nicholas Wadham had resided in Christ Church, and added circumstantial details; there is, however, no mention of him in the list of Fellow Commoners there, which seems to be complete; and Wood himself hesitates between Corpus Christi College and Christ Church. The connection between Bishop Foxe's college and the West country (four of the scholarships at C. C. C. were for natives of the dioceses of Bath and Wells and of Exeter) tends to confirm the view adopted. The question is fully discussed in Fowler's "History of Corpus" (O. H. S.), pp. 101, 2.

‡ "Colleges and Halls," p. 592.

Wood,* the suggestion of a far wider scheme of benefaction came from a neighbour, Mr. Orang, "who was accounted a wise discrete man in that country"; he urged that the master of Merifield should imitate the recent example of Sir Thomas Bodley, and build a college "which will last from generation to generation." The story must be accepted with some reserve, for princely benefactors do not generally form their plans on a mere chance suggestion, and one part of it—viz., that Nicholas was on bad terms with his relatives—is inconsistent with known facts.

A more interesting point as to the Founder's intentions is also raised by Antony Wood†, who says that the original purpose of Nicholas and his wife was to build and endow a college at Venice "for the reception of English scholars of the Roman Catholic religion (they themselves being of that persuasion)." Here again the obliging friend steps in with a suggestion "that they should do it at Oxford, that so the Church of England might reap benefit thereby," and this suggestion Nicholas Wadham "forthwith embraced."

If this story be accepted, we may perhaps suppose that Nicholas changed his plan and his religious faith in horror at the Gunpowder Plot; but it seems better to reject it altogether. Such a foundation as the Wadhams are said to have planned at Venice, would have exposed its authors to the terrible penalties of Præmunire, and, apart from this, the details in Wood are inconsistent with the Founder's will, and with the very interesting account of his death-bed,

* "Life," i. p. 259.

† "Colleges and Halls," p. 592.

which is still among the manuscripts in the possession of the Warden. Probably the rumour was invented because of the undoubted fact that Dorothy Wadham, after her husband's death, was for a time a recusant, though she certainly died in the communion of the Church of England. But even while she was a recusant, her care for the carrying out of her husband's intentions never relaxed, and there is nothing in her conduct to lend the slighest countenance to the view that she ever had any sympathy with the fanatical Roman party beyond the seas, and with their anti-national schemes.

The account of the Founder's last hours referred to above may therefore with confidence be taken as representing the real history of the origin of the college. It is dated October 16, 1609,* and was drawn up by one of his nephews, no doubt Sir John Wyndham. Nicholas Wadham began by reminding his nephew of the "great care that he had for erecting a college in Oxford," and went on to recount, in the most business-like way, the moneys in hand and the landed properties which he intended to devote to this purpose. Among these latter were estates to the value of £400 a year in Essex; no doubt the Founder wished to keep his own purchases of land quite apart from his ancestral estates, and so invested his savings in a different part of the country. Thus, from the first, Wadham, though a West-country college, had no financial connection with the West—a fact of melancholy importance in these recent years of agricultural depression. These Essex estates were left to his "wife during her life," "yet he

* The existing copy, however, was certainly written in the eighteenth century.

hoped that out of her benevolence, considering how well he had dealt with her, she would imparte a portion of it unto his College during her life." As will be seen, his confidence was fully justified by Mrs. Wadham's conduct (p. 38).

The Founder also announced that it had been his intention to bequeath the patronage of all his livings to his college—an intention which unfortunately he never carried out. He went on, with the shrewdness of an old courtier, to give directions that suitable presents should be made to the Lord Treasurer, who was to receive "a piece of plate or what else I thought fit would suit his fancy to the value of £50," and to Prince Henry of Wales, who was to have a "white and pied nagge." In this way Nicholas Wadham hoped to secure royal favour for his new foundation.

With regard to its statutes and government, he was too weak to speak, but he had often discussed this subject with his nephew before: on three or four points, however, which were especially peculiar, his instructions were once more deliberately given. Of these the first was that the Warden was to remain unmarried as well as the fellows—a regulation which certainly may be taken to show that Nicholas, like his wife, held high views as to clerical celibacy. The second was that his fellows were not to be bound to enter holy orders, but "every man was left free to profess what he liked, as it should please God to direct him." Thirdly, the fellowships were to be terminable after a certain number of years, and their holders were "not to live there all their time like idle drones" (the words sound like an echo of Bishop Foxe's statutes), but "to put themselves

into the world, whereby others might grow up under them, his intent being chiefly to nourish and train up men unto learning." Finally he arranged that the Bishop of Bath and Wells should be Visitor of his college and that it should bear his own name, "Wadham." It is interesting to see this seventeenth-century anticipation of non-clerical and terminable fellowships.

Four days after this interview the Founder died, and was buried with great pomp in a magnificent tomb at Ilminster Church, where the North transept bears the name of the "Wadham aisle." It had been built in the fifteenth century by one of his ancestors.

Nicholas Wadham's features are familiar to all Wadham men from the portraits which the college fortunately possesses of him; but these all represent him at the close of his life. The grave, stern face and sober dress are more suggestive of the educational reformer than of the court-bred squire and the magnificent entertainer. In his appearance, as in his views, Nicholas Wadham belonged to the century in which he mainly lived rather than to that in which the work was done which has perpetuated his name.

The money for the new foundation and the ideas which it was to embody came from the husband; but the application of the money to the carrying out of the ideas was the work of his widow Dorothy, to whom by his will his personal property was absolutely left "upon special trust reposed. . . that she will employ such sums. . . to such uses and purposes as I have requested her." She proved a most admirable executrix; though she was now seventy-five years of age, yet she proceeded to work with such energy that in less than

four years the plans of her husband were realised. Nor was she unimpeded in this task; an attempt seems to have been made to take the work out of her hands, and there is extant a firm and dignified letter of the Foundress to the Earl of Salisbury, protesting against this, and craving his help. Either the justice of her cause or her husband's well-judged present carried the day; the trust for Wadham College was finally constituted in July 1610, and in December of the same year King James gave the Foundress the charter, which is still preserved in the college muniment room. The King's connection with the college is commemorated by his statue, which stands, with those of the Founder and Foundress, on the stone screen above the entrance to the hall. This is very well shown in plate ii.

Dorothy Wadham had, however, even before this, taken measures to obtain a site for her college. By her husband's direction the endowment was first offered to Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College); but the then principal refused to surrender his buildings and site unless he were made head of the new foundation, and, as the Foundress was unwilling to accept him in this capacity, she had to seek her site elsewhere. She found it outside the North postern of the city ("Smith gate"), where the Augustinian Friars had had a famous house. The site had been confiscated at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and was now, after various changes of ownership, in the possession of the City of Oxford; the Corporation asked the sum of £1000 for it, but royal influence was brought to bear upon these unreasonable sellers—perhaps the result of

the Lord Treasurer's "piece of plate" and of the "pied nagge" which was given to the Prince of Wales—and after a special letter had come from his Majesty, the Mayor and Corporation resolved to treat with "Mr. Wadham's heirs." The result was that £600 was offered and accepted, but "every man [in the City Council] thought it too little." The hard bargain was sweetened by the promise that the City should nominate one fellow and two scholars on the original foundation.

This sale was effected on March 6; the site was at once cleared, and on July 31 of the same year the foundation stone was laid with "as much solemnity as the time" would "permit, being as it is in Vacation, at what time the University is always barest and most stript of her company, yet stored with a sufficient number."* Such were the modest anticipations as to the ceremony of Christopher Trevelyan, a young West-countryman, who was then a student in Oxford; but Wood's account argues no lack of company on the occasion. The Vice-Chancellor, "with the Doctors and Proctors," came in solemn procession from St. Mary's, the Mayor of Oxford, "with his brethren," met them at the site, a Te Deum was sung, and, after a Latin oration from the Warden of New College, the foundation stone was laid "where the chapel was afterwards built."†

The work after this went "cheerfully forward"; of the building operations an account will be given in the next chapter. By August 1612 things were sufficiently ready for the Foundress to issue her statutes and

* "Trevelyan Papers." Camden Society, part iii. p. 113.

† "Colleges and Halls," p. 593.

on April 20, 1613, the first fellows and scholars were admitted. We cannot better sum up the results of her work and her husband's liberality than in the quaint words of Fuller: "Absalom, having no children, reared up for himself a pillar to perpetuate his name. This worthy pair created that which hath doth and will afford many pillars to Church and State, the uniform and regular (nothing defective or superfluous therein) college of Wadham in Oxford."

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDINGS OF THE COLLEGE

The site which Dorothy Wadham had purchased was outside the walls, but it had long been well known in the University. The Augustinian Friars had been settled there since the thirteenth century, and the embattled steeple of their great church, which lay parallel to Holywell Street, formed one of the "coronal" of eight towers for which Oxford was already famous in pre-Reformation days. More important, however, than their architectural glories, was their connection with the University degree course; by an early statute, every B.A. was bound, as part of his qualification for his M.A. degree, to "dispute once and to respond once each year *ad Augustinienses*." These disputations had been done away with, either before or at the Reformation, but the title remained, and the form of "doing Austins" was only abolished by the great examination statute of 1800.

The friary church, however, had completely disappeared within forty years of the suppression of the monasteries, and of the monastic buildings nothing now remains except possible fragments; part of the east wall of the College garden may go back to pre-Reformation times, and this is certainly the case with some

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

WADHAM COLLEGE

of the fabric of No. 35 Holywell Street; but the only clear connection between the friary and the college which still exists is the charter of Edward IV., granted in 1474, which permitted the Augustinians to hold a fair in their own ground at the feast of St. John ante Portam Latinam (May 6); this is preserved, as part of the college archives, in the muniment room at the top of the tower over the gateway.

Dorothy Wadham's purchase included the front towards Holywell Street, as far down as No. 33, and the present site of the college, with the gardens of the Warden and the Fellows up to the line of the north wall of the latter. Its great advantage lay in the fact that, though close to the centres of University life, St. Mary's and the Schools, it yet was in the country, for Park Street then, and almost till our own day, was a private lane,* and the only access to Oxford from the north was down St. Giles. This last advantage was forcibly taken from the college in 1871, but thanks to its own gardens, those of Trinity and St. John's, and the University Parks, Wadham is still almost as secluded as it was when the Foundress chose the site.†

* The shrubberies under the wall of the Trinity garden opposite were owned and maintained by Wadham.

† This privacy Wadham owes to a woman's tact and sense. Dorothy would have nothing to do with Jesus College, which her husband mentioned after Gloucester Hall, as a possible recipient of his benefaction. The advantage thus gained has perhaps been a danger to the college in our own day; for some of the leaders in women's higher education have let it be known that Wadham would just suit them, and that when women have their rights, Dorothy's college is to be a "ladies' college." "It came with a lass and it will go with a lass," might be applied by desponding members of Wadham to their own case; but such alarms are at least premature.

The laying of the foundation stone on July 31, 1610, has been already described; but the work had been begun nearly four months earlier. Of the actual building operations the college has a contemporary record, giving with the greatest fulness all particulars as to the labourers, the purchase of materials, and the progress of the work. It commences on April 9, 1610, when twenty-nine workmen were engaged, of whom by far the greater part seem to have been Somerset men; the entry concludes characteristically, "twelve pence in beer when I agreed with them." The last entries are in July 1613; they include the chapel bell, but are mainly for plate and furniture. Thus the whole building occupied about three years in building. The total sum accounted for is about £11,360.

The first question that it is natural to ask as to any building, especially one of the architectural beauty of Wadham, is "Who was the architect?" Tradition has answered this by assigning the design to Thomas Holt, of York, who is described by Wood as "architect" of the New Schools, which were begun in 1613, just after Wadham was finished. To him too are attributed the Fellows' quad at Merton, which certainly bears a striking resemblance to that of Wadham, and the garden front of Exeter College.* But unfortunately for tradition, Holt's name does not appear in the accounts till August 1611, and then only as a carpenter engaged on the roofs. It seems clear that the superintendance of the work was intrusted to William Arnold, who is paid £1 a week till October 1611, and

* There is an interesting but uncritical article on Holt by Blomfield in the "Portfolio" for 1888.

then 10*s.* a week for some nine months longer, apart from the payments made to him for his work as a mason. He may well have been a kinsman of the Wadhams' steward, John Arnold, who seems to have managed all the expenditure on the work. To William Arnold then is due, Mr. Jackson* thinks, the design of the college; if this is the case, he is an interesting example of the craftsman-architect, who was about to pass away before the professional architect.

The buildings of Wadham are described by Ayliffe of New College, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as "in respect of beauty the most regular and uniform of any in the University," and many others who were not Wadham men have ranked them high among the ornaments of Oxford. Three features especially distinguish them. They were planned by the Foundress on so complete a scale, and carried out with such thoroughness, that no material alteration has been made in them; could one of the original fellows return to his old home, he would see little that was strange and unfamiliar. Again, they are perhaps the best instance in Oxford of that late Gothic work, which is so characteristic of our University. The Italian style had been frankly adopted at Caius College, Cambridge, more than a generation before; but the masons in Oxford went on building as their predecessors had built in the sixteenth and even the late fifteenth centuries; in spite of classical details here and there, the whole spirit of the Wadham buildings is Gothic. Their third great

* "Wadham College," p. 34. My obligations to Mr. Jackson's splendid and delightful book have been acknowledged in the Preface. They are, of course especially marked in this chapter.

feature is their extreme simplicity; except for the screen over the hall entrance, and for the pinnacles, no carving is used to decorate the exterior of Wadham. The architect trusted to the beauty of his proportions and to the simple lines of his string-courses for his whole effect; and his confidence was amply justified. The buildings need no adornment, for they are their own adornment.

The materials for this triumph of the craftsman-architect were provided direct by the Foundress. The oak timber was purchased as it stood in Lord Abingdon's woods at Cumnor, and with a curious disregard of modern rules of carpentry, cut with all the sap in it, and worked up almost at once. The stone was dug in the quarries at Headington, and brought by Mrs. Wadham's own carriers to the spot. New quarries seem to have been opened, and fortunately, though the stone leaves something to be desired, they were well chosen; there has been decay at Wadham, especially in those parts of the college that face south, but the stone as a whole has worn far better than in the rather later buildings at Oriel (begun in 1619). The main cost of the stone was the cutting and the carrying, for Magdalen College seems to have given "three quarries" for nothing; in 1610, a present of books to the value of £20, was made as a recognition of their liberality.

The first parts of the building to be completed were the chambers on the three sides of the quad. Although the foundation stone had been laid in the chapel, yet when the exterior of the living rooms of the college was finished in November 1611, work was only being begun on the windows of the hall and the ante-chapel,

while the kitchen foundations had not long been dug. The roofs of the chapel and the hall were not begun till the July of the following year (1612). The living rooms were planned on the old Oxford system of a large room with small studies (*musaeola*) attached to it, but the allowance of space was unusually liberal; the rooms themselves were larger than had been customary in many of the older colleges, and the Foundress further provided that each fellow should have one to himself, whereas it had previously been the rule for two or more to be in each set of rooms; even at Corpus, a scholar shared each set with a fellow, sleeping in a truckle bed, while the fellow had "a high bed." At Wadham the scholars still had rooms three together, sleeping in the big room, and working in the small rooms, which are now bedrooms or "scout-holes."

But, good as the rooms are, it was not on them that the architect's skill was especially bestowed—the glories of the college are, next to its garden front, the hall and the chapel. The hall measures 83 feet by 27, and after those of Christ Church and New College,* is the largest in Oxford; in its proportions it is superior to both these, though it has neither the magnificence of Christ Church nor the charm of detail which distinguishes New College.

Its one fault is the heaviness of the roof timbers, especially of the finials; the painting of the plaster ceilings between the beams is certainly ugly, but the architect is not responsible for it, as it is the work of a later generation.

* The hall of New College is only 78 feet long, but it is 35 broad.

The ornamentation of the wood-work of the screen is classical, as can be well seen in plate vi., but the windows try hard to be Gothic, and there is no disputing the fact that the whole room belongs in its conception to the fifteenth century, not to the seventeenth. It may be added that the floor was originally of oak; at a later period a stone pavement was substituted in the centre —an unfortunate change in every way. The oak has been replaced in our day (1891) by the liberality of one of the present fellows (Mr. Richards). One more detail as to the hall must be mentioned, as it seems specially contrary to modern notions of convenience: the fire was originally in the middle, and the smoke from the brazier escaped as best it could through the louvre above.

The chapel does not hold the same rank among the chapels of the University as the hall among the halls; but architecturally it is even more interesting. It is of the peculiar T-shape, which has been the typical Oxford pattern since it was accidentally developed at Merton.* The ante-chapel is unusually spacious, no doubt owing to the fact that theological disputations were to be held there; it is 27½ feet broad by 74 feet from north to south, and the arches by which it is supported are singularly bold and dignified.

But it is the chapel proper which is the part at once the most beautiful and the most puzzling to an architect. While the windows of the ante-chapel are in the same peculiar late "Gothic" style as those of the hall, the windows in the choir are—to any but the most trained

* This origin has been disputed, because the present transepts at Merton are later than New College Chapel; but they are only the successors of earlier ones

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

WADHAM QUADRANGLE FROM S.E.

eyes—pure Perpendicular work of the late fifteenth century. Even so good a judge as the late Mr. Fergusson, the historian of architecture, affirmed that they must have been made before the Reformation; when told that the college possessed documents which proved the contrary, he denied that any amount of documents could prove what was impossible. But the fact remains that, while William Arnold and his men were making the ante-chapel windows of Jacobean Gothic, a certain John Spicer, who was engaged in November 1611, was working by their side in a style at least a century older. He was paid £6 for each of the side windows, and £20 for the great East one—these payments being of course for labour only. The inference is irresistible that Spicer was also a Somerset man, and that he was so steeped in the style of his own county that he could work in no other; the choir of Wadham College is to all intents and purposes the choir of a great Somerset church.

The carpenter, like the mason, worked in the style of his neighbourhood, but wood-workers had been less conservative than the workers in stone; John Bolton, who made the great screen which separates the choir from the ante-chapel, must certainly have come from Somerset too; the screen of Crosscombe Church, between Wells and Shepton Mallet, is so like that which he constructed at Wadham that it can only be by the same hand; but in the Wadham screen, though the four-centred Tudor arch is retained, the spirit as well as the detail of the Renaissance is triumphant; * this is the case also with the stalls. Unluckily, the lower seats in

* He received £82 for this and the screen in the hall. Apparently his work was not finished till after the opening of the college.

the chapel were "gothicised" in the "restoration" of 1832, as can be seen in plate No. iii. Some of the old balls which used to crown their ends are still used for supporting the kneeling-stool by the altar rails.

One other feature in the original arrangements of the chapel may be mentioned; as the servants were provided for in the Foundation Statutes, so they were provided also with places in it; for their use were intended the two fine Jacobean pews which stand at the back of the screen.* To the ante-chapel have now been banished from the chapel proper the pulpit and the old altar of the college; the last stands under the east wall of the southern transept; its removal was due to the unsympathetic Gothic purism of the "restorers" of 1832. But their fault has been fully atoned for by the good fortune of the college, which, in 1889, obtained the old altar of Ilminster Church; this too had been expelled for a similar motive from its rightful place, and was secured by the then bursar, Mr. Stowe, for the chapel of Wadham. It is very handsomely carved, and may well date back to the time when Nicholas and Dorothy communicated at it.

Before the building was finally completed, and while the workmen were still in it, the new society took possession; on April 20, 1613, the just-appointed Warden, Robert Wright, admitted the Fellows and the scholars; and on April 29, the chapel was consecrated to St. Nicholas

* Even as late as the last years of Warden Symons, the six servants mentioned in the statutes attended the sermon and the celebration on Easter Day. Originally the servants were sometimes matriculated, but more often they were admitted to University privileges without this ceremony.

with great pomp by the Bishop of Oxford. He was received at the gate by the Warden and fellows, "the music, both vocal and instrumental then sounding," and after hearing the inevitable Latin oration, which at this period marked all ceremonials, he himself preached on John x. 22—"And he was in Jerusalem at the feast of the Dedication." Afterwards the "cloister and the cemetery joining to it [*i.e.*, the chapel] on the South side" * were consecrated. The entertainment was most magnificent, and cost £83 15*s.*

The college was now complete; but before we begin its history, it is necessary to give a chapter to its statutes, and to the Warden and other members of the first foundation.

* Wood, "Colleges and Halls," p. 692. At least one tombstone still remains sunk in the grass—that of a certain Robert Rogers, who died in 1676. There was originally a door from the ante-chapel to the cloister, which was doubtless used especially for funerals.

CHAPTER III

THE COLLEGE STATUTES AND THE MEMBERS OF THE FIRST FOUNDATION

The Society which had thus entered on its corporate existence consisted of a Warden, fifteen fellows, fifteen scholars, two chaplains, two clerks,* and a certain number of servants. All of these were appointed by the Foundress, with the exception of the three nominees of the City of Oxford already mentioned (p. 8), and she further reserved to herself all future nominations in her lifetime. It was only after her death that the new body was to enter on its full privileges, and, by electing its own members, to realise completely its corporate independence.

The Warden, according to the Foundress' original intention, might be a layman; he was, however, required to proceed to his degree as doctor within a year. Originally he might do this in any faculty; but

* The "clerks," or bible clerks, existed down till 1872; they sat in hall at a small table by the screen on the left. Their duties had been to say grace, to ring the bell for and to mark attendances in chapel, and to find the lessons there for the scholars; it is to be hoped they did it better than the scholars do now. They also collected the alms.

the statute was altered by her, it is said at the wish of the society, and he was henceforth bound to take his D.D.; the office of Warden therefore became of necessity a clerical one. It was found, moreover, that the time of one year allowed for proceeding to the doctorate was far too short, and resulted in great practical inconveniences; it was therefore altered by Dorothy Wadham herself, and the Warden was henceforth bound to proceed to the higher degree "as soon as he should be able to do so by the statutes of the University."

The Warden was to be a real ruler; when his office is vacant, the College "*velut apum examen sine rectore obstupescit, ignara prorsus cui pareat.*" He was the judge of all offences, of graduates as well as of undergraduates, although, in the case of the more serious ones, the five senior fellows, or some of them, are joined with him.* He it was who gave leave of absence and dispensations from the strict observance of the statutes. In fact, the general management of the internal affairs of the College was in his charge, as well as the superintendence over its external property, and the care for its interests.

The Fellows were to be elected from among the scholars of the College. They were originally to hold their fellowship for ten years only from their Regency,† but, at the advice of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Foundress extended this to eighteen years; she writes,

* *E.g.*, if the reader in Humanity or the Dean is negligent in attending to his duties, the Warden can punish him by withholding his pay and commons "in presence of the two senior fellows then residing" (stat., xi. ad fin.).

† An M.A. is still, according to the statutes of the University, a necessary regent "for the two years after the end of the term in which he was admitted to his degree." As such he can in theory be com-

however, "I have added thereby eight years more than their Founder's will was." They were free to read for any faculty they chose, but there were strict rules as to the time of their proceeding to their M.A. degree. As has been already said, the Wadham statutes anticipate the modern arrangements of non-clerical and terminable fellowships.

Of the scholars three were to be elected from Essex and three from Somerset, the rest from any county in Great Britain.* They were to be elected on the "morrow of St. Peter,"† and were to be between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. Their qualifications are the same as those prescribed by Bishop Foxe at Corpus—"to write off a Latin letter, to compose verses '*saltem mediocriter*,' and to have begun Logic"; but if persons qualified cannot be found, then those may be elected who "approach as nearly as may be" to the standard of knowledge. A man might keep his scholarship for twelve years after he has taken his M.A. degree, provided he behaved himself and made progress in his studies. Hence it became practically certain that any scholar who chose to wait would in time become a fellow. Succession, however, was not quite a matter of course; from time to time we have in the Convention Book such entries as

pelled to come to make a quorum at a degree ceremony, though this is very rarely, if ever, done in actual practice. In the earlier days of the University the actual teaching was in the hands of these "necessary regents."

* The statutes (cap. 7 ad fin.) originally read "Angliæ," but this was altered by King James into "Magnæ Britanniæ."

† June 30. The day was no doubt chosen with reference to the maiden-name (Petre) of the Foundress. It was kept till our own day, but since 1869, the election of Wadham scholars has taken place on St. Nicholas Day (December 6).

"*Non visi sunt idonei qui in socios admitterentur.*" By a later addition on the part of Dorothy Wadham herself, three scholarships and three fellowships were reserved for "Founder's kin"—*i.e.*, those who were connected with her late husband. This could be proved collaterally, as well as by direct descent from his sisters.*

The payments made to members of the Foundation were as follows. The Warden had £100 a year,† each fellow £20, and each scholar £10. The chaplains had £13 6*s.* 8*d.* each, and the clerks £6 13*s.* 4*d.* By an arrangement that seems curious, the under-cook and under-butler had each a pound more than their chiefs. It must be remembered that money at the beginning of the seventeenth century was worth at least ten times as much as at present.

The picture of college life, as given in the statutes, differs very materially from that of our own day; perhaps it differed also from anything that was ever realised.

In the first place, the amount of actual residence was

* This arrangement, as well as other peculiarities of the Wadham Statutes—*e.g.*, the termination of the fellowships at the end of eighteen years, was abolished by the first University Commission in 1855 (p. 186). Of the last three Founder's kin fellows, two had been the late Professor Shirley, the successor of Stanley in the chair of Ecclesiastical History, whose premature death robbed Oxford of a distinguished historian, and Dr. Codrington, the missionary and philologer. I lay stress on this, because there is often a tendency to assume that every modern change is an improvement, and that the old system was producing nothing but abuses. The changes were no doubt necessary, but this extreme view is not likely to be maintained by any one who has even an elementary acquaintance with unreformed Oxford.

† During the Foundress' lifetime, however, it was arranged that all these officers had only half their stipends (stat., cap. 31).

far in excess of that which is now required. By the arrangements of the Foundress, no scholar was to be away more than thirty days in the academic year, no fellow more than forty,* unless with special permission; and there were never to be more than seven away at the same time. So the disputations of the B.A.s and Regent Masters go on all the year round from the feast of St. Denis (October 9) to August 1, "except in vacations;" these seem to have been at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, while in Lent the character of the work was changed.

And during this prolonged period of work the obligations were very considerable. The M.A.s had their theological disputations for two hours every other week in the ante-chapel; the B.A.s and Regent Masters had to "dispute" twice a week from 6 to 8 P.M. in hall on three questions, which were alternately in Logic and in Natural Philosophy or Metaphysics. In addition, they had to dispute in Philosophy before the Moderator in that subject three times a week, in the morning, from 10 to 11.

* There was, however, a wise provision, borrowed from Bishop Foxe's statutes, that two of the fellows might travel for purposes of studying Civil Law or Medicine for not more than four years; during this time they were to receive half their stipends. It was, however, especially provided that they were to obtain the permission of the government; the intrigues of the foreign seminary priests were too familiar for Oxford fellows to be allowed to travel abroad without special precautions (*Cf.* p. 3 for limitations on this right of travel).

So in the account book of James Wilding, edited (1885) for the Oxford Historical Society by Mr. E. G. Duff, there is no entry for going home to Shropshire between 1682—when he matriculated at Merton—and 1687, though there are payments for journeys to London, to Cambridge, and elsewhere.

But the undergraduates had much heavier work. They had three hours a day on Logic with the Dean (the first of which began at 6 A.M.), during which they either had lectures or "disputed." They also had Classical lectures—two on a Greek author and one on a Latin author—three times a week at 2 P.M. On each of these subjects they were examined every week, and in addition they had every week or every other week the Catechist's lecture on Thursday, and on Saturdays at 1 o'clock public "declamations;" in these last-mentioned functions, "*orationes ex bile natae*" were for obvious reasons to be avoided. Thus an undergraduate had twenty-three or twenty-four hours—of lectures or disputations—every week. And it is expressly provided that, in the Long Vacation, Arithmetic, Geometry, or Geography may be substituted for the Classical lectures. We can hardly think that all this residence, or even all these lectures, were actually enforced; for, in addition, there were the University exercises as well, which were always to take precedence of the college ones. The Foundress certainly legislated up to her principle—"In all matters of education nothing is better than practice," with which she begins her statute (cap. 11) on "Lectures and Scholastic Exercises."

In other respects too the discipline of a seventeenth century college was very strict. Nothing is expressly said of corporal punishment, though it was certainly inflicted from time to time; the main punishment is deprivation of commons—*i.e.*, practically a fine—for a longer or shorter period. The sub-Dean and the B.A.s also were liable to have to do an imposition, or even to sit by themselves in hall at breakfast or dinner, with a

meal *solito exiliorem;* no doubt these penalties were inflicted on undergraduates also.

This severe discipline extended into every department of college life. All B.A.s and undergraduates were to attend college chapel twice a day, the services being between 5 and 6 in the morning, and between 8 and 9 in the evening.* Their dress too was strictly prescribed: their clothes and boots were to be black, or "as near black as possible." They were always to wear gowns down to their heels (*togae talares*) and square caps, inside and outside of the college, "except in their bedrooms." But these caps were to be carefully removed whenever they met a senior—in fact, an undergraduate scholar might not put on his cap in college at all. They were also never to go out alone, unless for some University function or to hear or read a lecture at some other college. There was naturally a severe rule against noise in college, which might disturb another student when "working or wishing to work."

But, in spite of all this severity, there was a human side in the arrangements of the Foundress. She provided that £30 from the general college revenues might be spent on the meals in hall on certain feast days.† She also allowed the fellows and scholars on certain feast days to play at cards in the hall; but this was to

* By a curious stretch of interpretation the Visitor gave relief to modern weakness. In 1838 he ruled that "mane inter horam quintam et sextam" meant "any hours at the discretion of the Warden or sub-Warden."

† These were Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsuntide, the feasts of the Circumcision, of the Epiphany, and of the Purification, the days of election of scholars and fellows, All Saints' Day, and October 20—the day of Nicholas Wadham's death.

be "for moderate stakes and at reasonable hours." For the rest she repeated the old statute of William of Wykeham, forbidding all kinds of shooting-engines in college, and the introduction of "dogs, ferrets, rabbits or birds of any kind whatsoever." *

Besides the members of the Foundation, others were also to be allowed at Wadham, as commoners or battellars.† Of these two classes there were at least twenty-seven when the college was opened, at the head of the list being the two great-nephews of the Foundress. It is amusing to notice that while the scholars' oath is in Latin, theirs is only in English; too much scholarship was obviously not expected of them; their obligations, however, are much the same as those of the foundationers—"to keep the ordinary exercises of this house appointed for you," &c.

One more department of the college life, as represented by the statutes, must be briefly touched on—that of the servants. The Foundress was true to the mediæval principle that no woman was to be allowed inside college; the only female servant was the laundress, and even she apparently was to wash only for the chapel and the buttery. She was only to come to the entrance of the "first gate" of the college—*i.e.*, no doubt, the gate of the inclosure in front, towards what is now Park Street; and she was to be of such age, position, and reputation that no unfavourable suspicions could fall on her. The men-servants who are provided consist of a

* The words suggest that University men were prone to a little mild coursing or cock-fighting.

† The battellars were commoners of inferior rank. They waited on themselves, fetching their own "battels" from the kitchen.

manciple, two butlers, two cooks, a porter, and a barber.* The last named was both to cut the hair of and to shave the fellows and scholars, for, says the Foundress, "I do not allow that any one residing in my college, should grow his beard, or have his hair long on his shoulders; nor on the other hand too clipped and cut short." The Warden with the Dean has the power of inflicting such penalties as he thinks fit on offenders against this rule. The Foundress nominated as butler her poor kinsman, John Buller, an inscription to whose memory can still be seen in the ante-chapel.

The statutes, which cover some 60 pages, are full of points of interest, and abound in shrewd and quaint remarks; but it is time to turn to the body of men who were appointed to carry them out.

The first Warden, Robert Wright, came from Trinity College, and was of the ripe age of fifty-three. He had been chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and now held the same position to James I.; he was also in possession of several livings, so that he had abundant need of the special provision in the statutes that the Wardenship might be held along with other ecclesiastical preferment. Hence it was not any objection to his pluralism which led to his soon vacating his post; but it seems that he was anxious to marry, and was disappointed when he

* All these offices are still found in college except that of the barber, but the present cook has performed for many years the duties of both cook and manciple.

The barber existed down to the end of the time of Warden Symons; his last recorded activity was dressing the wigs of the college actors during the early "sixties;" this was a period of great dramatic activity at Wadham; the plays were performed in the large room on the second floor of No. vi. The barber insisted on his rights in this matter, and threatened, if the wigs were dressed by another, to inform the Warden of the whole proceedings.

found himself not permitted to do so. He therefore resigned after holding his office five months.*

The Foundress and he seem to have parted on bad terms; in a letter after his resignation, she accuses him of jobbing in his own nominee into the place of undercook; probably he had not been sufficiently submissive to please the masterful Dorothy. But he must have had some affection for the college of his adoption, as he sent his son Calvert Wright there in 1634; the young man does not seem to have been a credit to anybody, for he ran through his father's large savings, and died in poverty at the age of forty-four in the King's Bench Prison.

Robert Wright was a considerable scholar,† and is addressed somewhat haltingly by a contemporary poet as

"Ubera cui charites dant et favet innuba Pallas."

He was also the first of the long roll of Wadham bishops, and in this office played for a short time, some thirty years later, a not inconsiderable part in one of the greatest crises in English history. He, as Bishop of Lichfield, was one of the twelve bishops who presented to King Charles (December 29, 1641) the famous protest against their

* Tradition has affirmed that the Foundress herself wished to marry him, and, on his refusal, debarred him, and all future Wardens for two centuries, from marriage. It has been already seen that the arrangement of celibacy was part of the Founder's instructions. Were any further proof needed against a story, which has absolutely no authority, it might fairly be found in the ages of the parties (Mrs. Wadham was seventy-nine and he was fifty-three), and in the hard and unpleasing features of his portrait in the college hall.

† A specimen of Wright's own Latin verses may be read in Mr. Jackson's "Wadham" (p. 67); they are much better than those addressed to him.

exclusion, by mob violence, from the House of Lords, declaring all proceedings in their absence null and void. For this they were sent to the Tower as guilty of high treason, though one member suggested the bishops were only "stark mad," and should be sent to Bedlam. Wright was soon released, and died two years later, defending his episcopal seat, Eccleshall Castle, against the Parliamentarians.

The first Warden was an Essex man, but the great majority of the Fellows and scholars were from the West country. Four fellows and five scholars were from Somerset, four fellows and two scholars from Devon; the local connection thus begun has continued, in part at any rate, till the present time, and it is to be hoped may still continue and grow stronger, although local connections are not popular in these reforming days.

As might be expected, the West-country connection was also shown in the large number of fellows—more than a fourth—who were drawn from Exeter College, which has always maintained the tradition which its name implies. It is also interesting to notice, as illustrating the contrast between the seventeenth century and our own day, that no less than five fellows and one of the chaplains came from the Halls. According to the agreement with the Foundress, the City of Oxford nominated one fellow, Thomas Harris, apparently the son of the Mayor of 1610, and two scholars; Harris had the sad distinction of being the first member of the college to be buried in the chapel, for he died in June 1614. The Foundress writes regretting his death, "which if it had pleased God, for the good I have heard of him, I could have wished otherwise."

Of the original Fellows none were men of very great eminence; but several of them must be mentioned in the next chapter for their part in the College history, and no less than three, Smyth, Estcott, and Pitts, became Wardens. Two, however, in different ways typical men, may fitly be spoken of here, since their subsequent history lies mainly outside the College walls. Henry Ancketyll was the first fellow to enjoy the permission of the Foundress to travel; whether his Protestantism was suspected we cannot say, but in his passport he is specially warned not to go to Rome. But his title to remembrance is that he is said to be the original of one of Sir Walter Scott's great creations —the militant divine, Dr. Rochcliffe, in "Woodstock." Whether this be so or not, "Anketell, the priest and malignant doctor" was well known in the Civil War, and held Corfe Castle for the King.

The other, Humphrey Sydenham, was the first person to take his M.A. from Wadham College; he, too, fought for Church and King, but with his tongue and pen, not his sword. The same fiery temper which made him incur "*scandalosa excommunicatio*," for some unrecorded reason, while he was residing as Fellow, made him a keen disputant when he was a parish priest in Somerset. Fuller mentions him as one of the "worthies" of that county, and says that he was known as "silver-tongued Sidenham"; the sermon which the annalist specially mentions as "to set forth his praise," the "Athenian Babler," is not to be found either in the Bodleian or in the College Library; but the "Well-tuned Cymbal"—preached at the dedication of Bruton organ—the "Arraignment of the Arian," and others

can still be read with some pleasure. In the dedication of his sermons to Archbishop Laud in 1637, he says that he owed his first spiritual preferment to him,* and is very severe on the "sanctified revilers" "who dare play with the very beard of Aaron." He, too, like Wright and Ancketyll, was a "confessor" for the royal cause, and lost his livings after the triumph of the Parliament.

One of the chaplains also, Gilbert Stokes, may deserve a passing mention, as an early instance of a type still familiar in the University. He was a "continual disputant even to his last" (and Stokes was in residence as chaplain over forty years) "among the juniors in the time of Lent," says Wood in his "Athenae," and "his use was to ferret them from one hole to another with subtilties." We no longer "dispute in Lent," but Mr. Stokes, with his fondness for examining his juniors, is a type of character which is never without example in Oxford.

Of the original fifteen scholars I regret to say that two were punished as B.A.s for staying out of college all night—"*quia pernoctavit in oppido*" says the record.† A like lawless spirit brought one of the "clerks," Alexander Gill, into more serious trouble, when he had left Wadham for Trinity. He was brought before the Star Chamber for drinking a health to Felton, the Duke of Buckingham's murderer, and for saying "the Duke had gone to hell to meet King

* Laud seems to have procured him the living of Ashbrittle in 1627; Laud was at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and as Visitor of Wadham he was not likely to overlook a man of learning and eloquence, who was also a sound Churchman.

† The punishment was deprivation of commons for a week.

James." He had also said that King Charles "was fitter to stand with an apron in a Cheapside shop, and to say 'What lack you,' than to govern the Kingdom."* He was fined £2000, and sentenced to lose one ear in London and the other in Oxford. But the fine was diminished, and the mutilation altogether remitted, at the prayer of his father, the High Master of St. Paul's School, and through the intercession of Laud. Gill, I think, is the only Wadham man whose ears were ever in danger. Yet seven years after (1635), in spite of his bad record, he was appointed head of St. Paul's in succession to his father. His severity in this post was so excessive that he had to be pensioned in 1640, and ended his stormy life two years later. Wood records that he was one of the best Latin poets of the time.

Gill must have found a kindred spirit in Wadham in the famous Cornelius Burges, who, as one of the leading London clergy (he was Rector of St. Magnus the Martyr), took a prominent part in the Civil War. According to Wood, he was the "ringleader of the rout" which intimidated the Lords at the time of Lord Strafford's trial; a less partial judge might say that he is to be honoured as a leader in the defence of Parliament against the violence plotted by the King. At all events, he was one of the committee appointed to raise money for the Civil War, and was, at the request of the City Council, appointed Sunday Lecturer at St. Paul's, with the enormous salary of £400 a year. Wood says he also greatly enriched himself by buying the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters. The Restoration

* Wood, "Athenae," iii. 42.

reduced him to great poverty, and he was also dying of cancer in the face; but only three weeks before his death (1665) he sent certain rare prayer-books to the Bodleian, with a touching dedication, which ends: "All these I most humbly and thankfully give to my said honourable mother of Oxford, (I being ready to dye), beseeching her to account of these four small mites, as our Lord and blessed Saviour did of the poor widow's two mites. Cornelius Burges." This is not the tone of the time-server and hypocrite which Wood represents him to be. It is tempting to dwell on the varying views and fortunes of our first predecessors, but the next chapter must return to the general history of the college.

CHAPTER IV

WADHAM COLLEGE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

THE new college thus founded seems to have attracted a considerable amount of attention, even in London. Among the State Papers for 1613 figure, somewhat incongruously, a number of papers as to a college for "innocents or fools," to be called "Gotam College," which had been founded by Sir Thomas a Cuniculis, with a charter from the Emperor of Morea. There seems to be no special reference in the mock statutes to those which had just been issued by Dorothy Wadham; but the event of the foundation of a new college seems to have given occasion to the publication once more of the time-honoured jokes against colleges and their arrangements in general.

Wadham at once became popular as a place of education; the West-country gentry hastened to send their sons to it. The first name on the University Register of a man matriculating at Wadham may be taken as typical of the sources from which for some time the college drew most of its members,* and also

* To take a single instance in 1615: of twenty-five names that can be identified, twenty come from Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; there are twenty-six entries in all.

of the subsequent fortunes of a large number of them. He was called William Coker, was the son of a Dorset squire, and having succeeded to his father's estate, he served as colonel under Lord Hopton in the King's Western army, and had to pay a heavy fine when he submitted to the Parliament after their victory.

The new college was hardly inhabited before it received its first considerable benefaction, and, as was befitting a West-country college, it came from a Somerset man. Dr. Bisse, the Archdeacon of Taunton, gave his books to furnish the library of the new foundation, and they arrived in July 1613. Antony Wood says there were 2000 of them, and that they were valued at £1700. The number would seem to be not at all exaggerated, for all Dr. Bisse's books can still be identified; by the Foundress' special direction, they have the name of their donor inscribed on the title-page. A large number of them, especially of the folios, can also be recognised by the fact that they have their titles carefully written in black letter character on the edges of the pages; Dr. Bisse, it appears, followed the fashion of his time, and put his books on the shelves with their backs inside—with a view presumably to saving the binding. The same arrangement of books can be seen in the frame of the monument of Thomas Harris (p. 30) on the north wall of the ante-chapel.

Of the present value of the gift it is much harder to speak. Mr. Gordon Duff, to whose care the Wadham Library owes much, rather unkindly says, "it is surprising how so large a collection could have been formed, containing so very little interesting or rare." But one treasure certainly deserves mention—the Latin

translation of the "Letters of Phalaris," published at Oxford in 1485, which is not only most valuable to bibliophiles, but also interesting to all Oxford men from its Latin verse colophon, giving the history of the Oxford Press. The splendid maps of the great sixteenth-century geographer, Ortelius, may also be mentioned. But the bulk of the collection is theological, and answers accurately to the account of Bishop Mannering's library, which so delighted Dominie Sampson:

> "The close-pressed leaves, unoped for many an age,
> The dull red edging of the well-fill'd page,
> On the broad back the stubborn ridges rolled,
> Where yet the title stands in tarnished gold."

Such a collection enables the nineteenth century to realise, better than anything else, the main interests of a seventeenth-century scholar.* Every variety of theology, historical, doctrinal, above all controversial, is represented fully, and not only by English works, or by works of the Protestant divines of Germany or Holland, but also by Roman theologians from all corners of Europe. Long-forgotten Jesuits from Spain or Poland stand in dusty oblivion side by side with their opponents; Alexander of Hales and St. Thomas Aquinas are as fully represented as Erasmus and Luther. We see how in those days scholars from all parts of Europe met armed with the common language, Latin, on the common battle-field, Theology.

* Dr. Bisse had been buying books to the last. His library was given in 1613, but it contains Sir Henry Savile's fine edition of St. Chrysostom, in eight folio volumes, which was only published early in that year.

By a special provision in the statutes, all books were to be chained (a custom which prevailed in Oxford libraries till the latter half of the eighteenth century), and on no account to be taken out of the library. The chains seem to have remained till 1785 (*cf.* p. 145), and the Visitor has since relaxed the restrictions of the statute, so as to permit books to be used more freely.

Dr. Bisse's portrait, painted by Mrs. Wadham's special order, "with his doctoral formalities on," still adorns the library, and his nephew was appointed by her one of the first Fellows, though he was not a graduate at the time, "*ob singularem amorem avunculi sui erga collegium meum.*"

In the very first year of the college's existence the Foundress gave a striking example of her love and care for it. She had already at Christmas sent £10 extra for the gaudy festivities; in February 1614, she writes giving, for the immediate enjoyment of the college, her estates in Essex, subject only to a charge of £200 a year for herself, which seems to have been less than half their real value. This increase of income was to be applied to bringing the stipends more nearly up to the level fixed by the statutes. She warns the fellows, however, that henceforth they must "trust to themselves and look into their own estates." And her warning was at once realised; for the annual income of the Essex lands fell off in the first year nearly 20 per cent., and in the next (1615) some 13 per cent. It was quite an anticipation of our own days of agricultural depression. Dorothy Wadham was, however, equal to the occasion. "I am heartily sorry," her letter begins, "that now, in your first entrance, you should be so

cumbered with bad tenants;" she then goes on to remit half her own fixed charge of £200. It was in this liberal spirit that she carried out her husband's wishes. Nor was she careless of her young foundation's spiritual welfare, for she writes soon after a special postscript that "prayers and fasting-days be duly observed in the house, not allowing any in their chambers to break it, or elsewhere in the college."

Among the early entries at Wadham is the name of Thomas Gower, a little Yorkshire boy aged twelve, who came up in 1616. To him a particular interest may be said to attach, not merely because of his loyal service to King Charles as Sheriff of York, nor because he is the direct ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland and of two earls, but from a curious chance, which preserved under the floor of his room (No. v. 1 pair rt.) one of his mother's letters to him when in his fourteenth year. It is like countless other mothers' letters, but there is a charming pathos in it, as it comes to us out of the past; it shall, however, speak for itself (I preserve Mrs. Gower's spelling and punctuation):

"Tom: I am so fearfull of you now being far from me that your young years should forgett your maker which hath been so beneficiall unto you, I charge you to continue with your daily prayers unto him for the increase of them and alwayes acknowledge whence they came. I writt to you in my last letter that you shoulde send me word whether you heard from your granmother or whether you writt to her since your being at Oxford, and you sent me no word att all."

Young Mr. Gower was bad at answering questions, like many modern correspondents. His mother then

goes on to tell him of a neighbour's death, and how there has been a duel between two others, ending in the death of the one and the flight of the other from the country. She adds, "It was ther exeemye great pride," and charges him "to beware of this sin and to pray against it. Thus with my daly prayers to God to continue you with His blessings I rest your ever lovinge mother till death, Ann Gower."

Then follows a P.S. on family business. But on the back of the sheet, in a different hand, there is a fragment of a letter which seems to show that the young undergraduate was perhaps rather inclined to those duels against which his mother warns him: it begins, "hopinge of your health I have made the best means for your sworde and canne not get it by no means."

So ends our glimpse of this seventeenth-century undergraduate.

Within two years after this there was admitted to the college one who is perhaps its most famous member. Robert Blake matriculated at Alban Hall in January 1615, but took his B.A. from Wadham in February 1618. He seems to have resided for some time afterwards, perhaps hunting for fellowships; at all events he stood for one at Merton College, and, according to tradition, was rejected because his short stature and clumsy build displeased the then Warden of Merton. Blake's history is part, and no inconsiderable part, of England's history during this period, and Oxford can hardly claim to have taught him either the iron determination which did so much to ruin the royal cause in the West, or the naval skill which has joined Blake's

name to Nelson's in the front rank of English admirals.*

Blake's younger brother was a fellow of the college, and resided for more than twenty years (with intervals), till after the outbreak of the Civil War. He took his D.C.L. at Padua in 1637, and afterwards was incorporated with the same degree at Oxford.† The University in the seventeenth century was not so exclusive as it is now in regard to foreign degrees.

The very year in which Blake joined the college he had an experience of Stuart respect for statutes and constitutions which may well have had something to do with forming the Republican notions which he is supposed to have held at Oxford and later. On October 30, 1618, King James wrote to "our trusty and well beloved, the Warden and Fellows of Waddam College," bidding them elect Walter‡ Durham of St. Andrews a Fellow, "notwitstanding anything in your statutes to

* Wadham not only has in its hall a fine portrait of Blake as a young man (for its history see Appendix II.), which has been recently reproduced in Laird Clowes' "History of the Royal Navy." It has also one of the four gold admirals' medals, struck to commemorate the victories over the Dutch in 1653, which are the masterpieces of the art of Simon, the greatest of English medallists. And in the collection of Wadham portraits there is a unique gathering of the engraved pictures of Blake. It is amusing to see how, when the demand for his likeness outran the supply, the print-sellers of the time unscrupulously sold Drake's portrait for Blake's. Yet there is not the slightest resemblance between the close-cropped bullet-head of the Elizabethan sea-dog and the somewhat heavy John Bull face and long curls of the Puritan admiral. The collection of engraved portraits and the medal the college owes to the care and munificence of the late Warden, Dr. Griffiths.

† Wood, "Fasti," 1640.

‡ Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Jackson call him "William," but the "Walter" is distinct in the Warden's MSS.

the contrary." But the college had that English regard for legality which the Stuarts never could understand; Durham had not been a scholar of the college, and so was ineligible, and, moreover, the Foundress, for whose funeral "their eyes were still wet," had filled up the place beforehand. They were much afraid that the King might put down their refusal to dislike of a Scotchman, but while they "feared the King, they feared Almighty God still more." Durham, as the official Latin narrative preserved among the Warden's MSS. quaintly says, "*nullum non movebat lapidem ut voti compos fieret;*" he even called on the fellows "in their bedrooms"; but the college stood stoutly to its guns, and, thanks to the help of the Chancellor, William Herbert, the great Earl of Pembroke, they had their way. Durham did not get his fellowship, and the statutes remained inviolate.

It is impossible not to connect this aggression on the part of the King with an entry in the Admission Register of next year; the bald list of names suddenly becomes eloquent, when Carew Ralegh is entered as "*fortissimi doctissimique equitis Gualteri Raligh filius.*"* Warden Smith was only voicing in Latin what all England was saying as to the King's victim of the preceding year. Carew Ralegh seems to have had some at least of his father's ability; James told him to leave

* The register becomes even more eloquent in 1636 over Thomas Drake, who is described as "*Magni illius Francisci Drake, qui primus nostrorum hominum totum orbem circumnavigat ex fratre nepos.*" Another member of the same family, Gilbert Drake, was a great benefactor of the Library (1629), and by a charming coincidence presented it with the rare first edition of Hakluyt's "Voyages" (1589).

the Court, because he looked so like his father's ghost; but he served the son of his father's murderer in the Civil War, and had some share, as a member of the Long Parliament, in restoring the grandson.

While the college was thus struggling for its rights, the Foundress had passed away. She had been failing in health and bedridden for a year before her death, but she still continued to appoint to the fellowships; in fact, she had given them for some time in advance. She died on May 16, 1618, aged eighty-four, and was buried beside her husband at Ilminster; in spite of her own express wishes to the contrary, her funeral was magnificent, both in Oxford and in Somerset. In Oxford the mercer's bill alone came to £157 17*s.* 2*d.*, for all the members of the foundation had cloaks of broadcloth, the quality of which varied according to their rank, and the whole chapel was hung with black, on which texts were pinned.* The funeral feast in hall cost £41 9*s.* 7*d.*

Dorothy Wadham may claim at least equal rank with her husband as a college founder, and her picture always hangs beside his within our walls. It shows her, as we should imagine her, a woman of somewhat hard features, but evidently of strong character, great common sense, and real kindness. She was a well-marked specimen of a type still familiar in every country-side—a great lady

* There is an entry in Mr. Boswell's account, preserved among the Warden's MSS.: "3 papers of pins for to pin on the verses, 1*s.*"

Mr. Boswell's son was a Fellow of Wadham (see p. 2) and a distinguished lawyer. He lies buried in All Saints' Church, in the High Street. Among other presents to the library he gave an eleventh-century Latin MS. of the four Gospels, with interesting Anglo-Saxon illuminations.

with strong views of her own, and small patience with those who opposed her, but also as unsparing of herself as of others and devoted to her ideals of duty. Her college may do well to remember the closing words of one of her last letters to Wadham (October 1616). "Above all things I would have [you] to avoid contentions among yourselves, for without true charity, there cannot be a true society."

In the year of the death of the Foundress, the college matriculated its first dramatist, Shakerly Marmion. It must be confessed that his title to permanent fame is not great, and only one of his plays "The Antiquary," has even got so far as to be included in Dodsley's Collection. But he was one of Ben Jonson's "sons," and lived the usual life of a man about town with such effect that he ran through a large estate. His death was better than his life, for he served as a captain of horse under Sir John Suckling in the Bishops' War; but the hardships of the campaign were too much for him, and he died early in 1639.

Wadham itself at this period seems to have been anything but a healthy place; the college register of burials in the chapel and the cloister between 1613 and 1646 contains twenty-six names, among which are those of two Wardens (Fleming, d. 1617, and Escott, d. 1644). This mortality is not surprising when we find that in 1645 an unnamed stranger who died of the plague was actually buried in the College. In fact, that terrible scourge seems to have been at this time almost endemic in Oxford; in 1625 general leave of absence is granted *ob pestem* (*ut tunc credebatur*) *in ipso Collegio grassantem*, and this was twice extended, lasting in all more

than six months. It was with good reason that the Foundress provided, in the college estate of Southrop (near Fairford in Gloucestershire), a place to which her society might remove in times of pestilence. Yet our ancestors seem to have been stoically indifferent to infection; in 1625, when the plague was "raging in the city," the number of admissions only fell off eight from that of the previous year (from 24 to 16).

Among those who died the best known certainly is Sir John Portman, whose monument, which once stood within the sanctuary of the chapel, is now so familiar a feature in the ante-chapel; but probably the greatest loss was young John Flavell, one of the original scholars, who took his B.A. at the age of eighteen, and was "senior of the Act," when he proceeded to his M.A. Young as he was, he took a prominent part in teaching his juniors, and his Logic lectures can still be read by the curious; they show considerable familiarity with Aristotle. They were published after his death by his fellow scholar, Alexander Huish, who was himself to attain scholarly fame later as assisting to edit the Polyglot Bible; he is therefore the first of the many Orientalists who have been trained at Wadham. He presented the college library with his edition of Flavell, and with a beautiful copy of his own elaborate work on the Lord's Prayer (1636). The inscriptions with which he records his gifts are charming, and from the tone of his prefaces we can well believe what Wood says of him, that he had "done extraordinary benefit for the common good."

One of the earliest acts of the college in its relations with the outside world was to attempt to assert its claim over the adjoining parish as the legal successor of

the Austin Friars. A person in Holywell was convicted of manslaughter, and Wadham and Merton jointly claimed his goods. The claim failed, for what reason is not known, and Merton paid Wadham £6 13*s.* 4*d.* towards its charges.*

In the same year (1623) was admitted to the college a man who has succeeded in marking himself off from all other Wadham men by writing a book which the University publicly burned as pernicious. Philip Hunton, whom even Wood admits to have been "a man of parts," was one of the prominent Puritan ministers in Wilts, and was actually made provost of the new college at Durham which Cromwell founded in 1657. This, however, was soon dissolved, and Hunton's title to fame is his controversy with the Cambridge political philosopher, Sir Robert Filmer. His treatise on monarchy upheld the terrible doctrine that "the Sovereignty of England is in the three estates, King, Lords, and Commons," and the book was condemned by the University, along with some of Milton's political writings, and burned in the School quadrangle in 1683—the year after its author's death. Wood says it had "great vogue among many persons of levelling principles." Perhaps Hunton found a congenial spirit at Wadham in Robert Maton, who was admitted later in the same year, and who became prominent in the stormy days of the Commonwealth as one of the leading "millenaries"; he published "Israel's Redemption," a "Discourse of Gog and Magog," and other books popular in Fifth-Monarchy circles.

The varying fortunes and the diverse views of contemporaries in England at this period can be well illustrated

* Warden's MSS.

by the fortunes of three men who matriculated at Wadham at the same time (1626); of these, Charles Dymoke * died in the King's garrison at Oxford in 1644, and in the same year, the second of them, Francis Blewett, was killed as a royalist colonel at the siege of Lyme Regis, which Blake was so unexpectedly defending; between their names on the Register comes that of Charles D'Oiley,† who commanded Fairfax' Guards at Naseby. With them at college were two other men, much better known, who played a leading part on opposite sides: Nicholas Love, who came up in 1625, was a distinguished lawyer, and was a member of the High Court of Justice which condemned King Charles I. Though he dissented from the sentence, Love was prosecuted as a regicide, and died in exile at Vevey. Wykehamists, at any rate, will be grateful to him for preserving the old buildings of their college from Waller's troopers. On the other side, there is Nicholas Monk, who matriculated in 1628, and whose influence with his brother George, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, was supposed to have had a share in bringing about the Restoration of 1660. At all events, this brought to Monk the Bishopric of Hereford and a monument in Westminster Abbey.‡ It is interesting to speculate how the begin-

* He is entered in the register as "Pugil Regius"—Royal Champion; he had just served in that capacity at the coronation of Charles I.

† His nephew, John, gave the Library its fine copy of Walton's "Polyglot."

‡ It is rather curious that another Wadham man, Sir Thomas Clarges, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Albemarle, represented the University of Oxford in the second Convention Parliament—that of January 1689—which undid the work of the Restoration, and expelled the direct line of the Stuarts.

nings of the Parliamentary conflict would be discussed at college by these young men, whose fortunes were to be so affected in its subsequent development.

But the members of the foundation at this time seem to have been more concerned with the ordinary routine business of University and of college than with the political questions of the day. In 1624 a Wadham M.A., Daniel Escott, was elected Senior Proctor, after "the greatest canvas in the memory of man." The scrutiny continued till after 9 P.M., so great was the number of non-resident voters who had been brought up, and Escott headed the poll with 255; in all 984 M.A.'s voted.* Even more engrossing was the question as to Harrington's fellowship, which distracted the college for years. The details are worth giving briefly, because they illustrate the kind of questions which fill a college register, and because they show how the greatest persons in England were called on to interfere in these petty quarrels.

James Harrington, one of the original fellows, had inherited some money, and was therefore deprived of his fellowship in October 1627, because his property was much in excess of the limit fixed by the statutes —£10 a year. He did not deny his wealth, or the obvious meaning of the statute, but he pleaded that the Foundress had given him a dispensation from its application. The case was laid before the Visitor (*cf.* p. 6)—at this time Laud—in the early summer of 1627, but Harrington failed to appear, and instead obtained, under false pretences, a commission from the King, to examine the matter at Oxford. This was too much; Harrington was suspended, and Charles

* Wood, "Fasti," 1624.

being informed of the circumstances, revoked his royal commission. When the matter was inquired into, it appeared that the Foundress had certainly talked of giving Harrington the exemption he claimed, but her letter could not be produced; he therefore accused the Warden of suppressing it. After investigating these points, Laud decided the main point in Harrington's favour, but ordered him to apologise to the Warden, and to pay the costs of the college in the suit. The troublesome fellow then apologised, admitting that he had "oftentimes behaved himself toward the Warden both in gesture and speeches very uncivilly;" and that he "had given scandal to the college." He at once, however, proceeded to do this again, even threatening the Visitor himself; he was therefore once more compelled to apologise, and in the end was deprived of his fellowship for six months. But he was not finally "removed" till 1631, when his full term of eighteen years had run out. The only person who comes quite well out of the squabble is the Visitor, Laud, who showed great temper and judgment under severe provocation; the College as a whole seems to have been very careless and unbusiness-like in its management of affairs, while Harrington spoiled a strong case by outrageous behaviour; his ideas too of the meaning of an apology seem to have been loose in the extreme.

About this time we have another curious glimpse of undergraduate life in four letters,* from John Willoughby (who came up as a commoner to Wadham in 1630), to his father. They are mainly made up of requests for money; he urges as a reason that prices

* "Trevelyan Papers," vol. iii. (Camden Society).

have risen so much in Oxford that bread is as dear again as it had been. The father not unnaturally did not look on this as a sufficient reason for an increased allowance, and like a wise man, took his son away next year from a place where he seems to have been doing no good.

In the same year (1630) there was incorporated at Wadham a Cambridge man of considerable distinction; it is curious by the way to note how many of Wadham's most famous sons have come to her from the sister University; John Gauden, who entered at Wadham as tutor to two young Russells, fellow commoners, had been educated at St. John's College there. He resided in Oxford till 1635, devoting his time to unwearied study. In the controversies of the stormy times that followed he played a leading part, and did not escape the charge of time-serving in his religious opinions; but at all events he deserves credit for having ventured to plead with Cromwell on behalf of the oppressed clergy of the Church. His real title to fame, however, is that he is the probable author of the famous "Eikon Basilike," which did so much for the reputation of the Royal Martyr;* as a reward for keeping the secret of the authorship of this, or for his controversial works, Gauden was soon after the Restoration made Bishop of Worcester. It is a pity the college has no portrait of him, especially as Wood says he was "a very comely person." He presented several books to the College library.

Of the other side in politics during this decade there were at Wadham three famous preachers, Francis Bamp-

* Of this book the college library has a first edition.

field* (1631), Thomas Manton (1635), and Thomas Leigh (1636). The first of these died in Newgate in 1683 under sentence for "unlicensed preaching"; the second was recognised as one of the leading divines expelled in 1662, and for this reason he is assailed by Wood with unusual bitterness; the third was an educational reformer as well as a divine, and published an English grammar under the title of "The Child's Delight," which ran through several editions. To judge from the preface the name is a sad misnomer.

The Civil War was now approaching, and it seems to have cast its shadows before, for, in 1639, only nine persons were admitted at Wadham. The King too was appealing to his people by issuing his "declaration" as to the real causes of the troubles in Scotland; the library still possesses the splendid copy it received, bound with the Royal Arms. But the alarm passed off and the number of admissions rises again in the following years; men did not believe in the war till it was upon them.

During the period described in this chapter the fabric of the college was completed by the glazing of the chapel windows. The first to be done were those on the North side, representing the prophets, which seem to have been finished about 1614; the blue-eyed whale of Jonah in the last window to the West is the best known part of them. They are decidedly inferior to the rest of the windows in the chapel, and perhaps this was partly the reason why their maker, Rudland,

* By a curious chance the future "anabaptist" took his B.A. along with the future Romanist, Obadiah Walker, the notorious Master of University under James II.

was paid off and dismissed at the direction of the Foundress, after much "brabbling."

The next windows to be done were those opposite, on the South side of the chapel, representing the Apostles, with our Lord and SS. Paul and Stephen; this figure, the last to the West, bears date 1616; these windows are much superior, and are artistically perhaps the best in the chapel. But the most effective glass is undoubtedly that in the great East window, representing the scenes of the Passion, with Old Testament types above; * in spite of the Dutch faces, and the lack of dignity in many of the figures, it is admirably dramatic, and much of the colour is very fine; in it, as in the windows on the South side, the old method of using pot-metal glass is combined to some extent with the new process of enamelling. The designs of the East window are mainly copied from a curious book in the library, given by Dr. Bisse, "Meditationes in Evangelia," published at Antwerp in1595 by a Jesuit, Natalis.

* The subjects of the window are as follows:

In the lower tier (beginning from the left)—

1. The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem.
2. The Agony in the Garden.
3. The Betrayal.
4. Jesus before Caiaphas.
5. Pilate offering Jesus to the people.

In the upper tier—

1. The Scourging.
2. Christ bearing His Cross.
3. The Crucifixion.
4. The Resurrection.
5. The Ascension.

In the larger tracery lights above are—

1. The Sacrifice of Isaac.
2. The Brazen Serpent.
3. The Translation of Elijah.
4. Jonah and the Whale.

There are also some heraldic panels. A good number of these details can be made out in plate iii.

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE CHAPEL (LOOKING EAST)

Of the cost of this window the college has full details; its artist, Bernard Van Ling,* was engaged for the work at Wadham by a Londoner, Mr. Langton, who seems to have been a glass merchant. His letter to Warden Smyth is amusing; he gives Van Ling's history, and guarantees that he is "of sober and good carriage, and not given to drink." He further presses the Warden to decide at once, as otherwise he will find work for Van Ling in St. Paul's, and "after he have wrought here, it will be hard for you to agree with him upon these conditions." Langton then warns the Warden against English workmen, who want money down in advance, and "such is their subtility that they will by one means or other get beforehand with you." He urges that Van Ling should be put up in college; "then our glaziers here can put no tricks upon him, for I am sure there will be attempt, because they would have him depart the land"; they had already tried to get at Van Ling, urging him not to undersell the British workman. It seems that modern trades-union methods were not unknown early in the 17th century.

Van Ling finally covenanted with the college to do the work for 3*s.* a square foot; all materials but "paynter" (*i.e.*, paint) were to be found for him, and he was to be put up and fed in college, an oven also was to be built for him to "neale his Glase in." This

* He came from Friesland, and had worked in Paris. He is to be carefully distinguished from Abraham Van Ling, the artist of the Jonah window at Christ Church, and of windows at Balliol, Queen's and University. There are many most interesting details as to his work in Mr. Jackson's "Wadham," p. 163 *seq.*

was erected in what is now the fellows' garden. The work lasted rather more than 10 months, during which time his battels came to £2 17*s.* 8*d.* The total cost of the window was £113 17*s.* 5*d.*

Of this cost by far the largest part (£100) was borne by the Founders' nephew and co-heir, Sir John Strangeways, whose portrait still hangs in Hall over the High Table. He and his son Giles deserve mention for another reason, as they were confessors for the royal cause, and were sent to the Tower, after Naseby, for 20 months.* Giles lived to see the triumph of his party at the Restoration, and was a leading man in the "Cavalier" Parliament of 1661; he was selected in 1665 to convey the thanks of Parliament to the University for their "reasons concerning the Solemn League and Covenant," and then was made a D.C.L.

* Their liberation in 1648 is commemorated by a gold medal, of which there is a specimen in the college collection.

CHAPTER V

WADHAM COLLEGE TILL THE RESTORATION (1642–1660)

The Long Parliament met in November 1640; its assembling was eagerly looked for both by friends and by foes, but men did not foresee that before it was legally dissolved, nineteen years would pass, and England would be torn by Civil War; it seemed like any other of its predecessors, and met with the ordinary forms. The earliest relations of the college to it were commonplace enough; in the first month of its existence, Parliament appointed a committee to consider the grievances of Wadham and of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; so much can be learned from the Warden's MSS., but what the grievances were, they do not say.

The Parliament, however, had other work to do than investigating private grievances; the grievances of England were its care, and in redressing these the long-postponed struggle became inevitable. In the autumn of 1642 war broke out; after Edgehill the King entered Oxford (October 29, 1642), and that city for the next four years practically ceases to be a University, while it becomes instead a capital and a fortress of the first rank. The number of graduations sank to fifty a year, and it is surprising there were so many, for the scholars

either left the city, or devoted themselves to arms. And very few new scholars came up; only seven admissions are recorded at Wadham in 1643, and this number included such non-academic persons as the Earl of Bedford,* one of the King's captains, and Sir Edward Herbert, his Attorney-General; in 1644 there are three, in 1645 none.

A single instance of the troubled nature of the times will suffice to illustrate this point. There is an entry in the Admission Register of 1645 that Thomas Baker,† scholar, though properly elected, "*rebellium armatorum impetu impeditum fuisse ut ad hoc collegium accedere ante hoc tempus non potuit*" (sic.). The rooms thus left vacant were, at Wadham, as elsewhere, partly let out to the King's followers. We have Mr. Shorthouse's authority that John Inglesant lived in the college, and the Warden's MSS. show us the just-mentioned Sir Edward Herbert using it as a kind of family residence: he had two sons born to him there, who were baptized in the chapel.

But the colleges suffered directly as well as indirectly. Hardly had the King arrived, when (January 5, 1643) he sent a circular letter to them, demanding the "loan" of their plate. He had already had money from most of them (including a sum of £100 from Wadham), and our society now at once (January 26, 1643) voted to surrender the plate to the King. It is a remarkable

* He was the father of Lord William Russell and became the first Duke in 1694.

† He was afterwards a distinguished mathematician; though his parish was in a remote part of Devon, he wrote the "Gate of Equations Unlocked," and received a medal from the Royal Society.

proof of the popularity of Wadham since its foundation, that although it had not yet been in existence thirty years, it came seventh in the list of colleges contributing. The amount handed over was about 100 lbs. weight of white (*i.e.*, silver) plate, and 23 lbs. of "gilt" plate; this was to be repaid at the rate of 5*s.* and 5*s.* 6*d.* an ounce respectively, for, writes the King, "assure yourselves we shall never let persons, of whom we have so great a care, to suffer for their affection to us." The college still has the royal receipt, but of course no other return was ever made. The only plate saved was the Communion plate given by the Foundress and by Warden Smyth;* this was no doubt redeemed, as was done in other colleges; for everywhere "piety" —in both senses of the word—was allowed to prevail over loyalty.

John Pitts had become Warden in 1644, and held the office four years till he was removed by the Parliamentary Commission; the only admission of importance in his time is that of the great Thomas Sydenham, who had left his original home, Magdalen Hall, to serve with distinction in the Parliamentary army of the West, but who took the opportunity of the surrender of Oxford (June 24, 1646)† to return to the University, and enter his name at Wadham. He remained there two

* For details as to this I must refer to Mr. Jackson's "Wadham," p. 209; the two flagons, which were left by the Foundress, are especially interesting. Her "cup," in spite of its antique shape, and of the inscription upon it, bears the hall-mark of 1752. Probably the old cup was worn or damaged, and so was melted down in the eighteenth century and remade. This seems to have been frequently done with College plate (*cf.* p. 68).

† This is his own statement; the Dictionary of National Bio-

years, and then, like two other great Wadham men of his time, Wren and Mayow, migrated to All Souls as a fellow. His subsequent career belongs to the history of English medicine, in which his is the most famous name. It is very sad that the college has no portrait of him, and the library's collection of his works, though fairly complete, has no copies given by himself.

The surrender of the city gave Sydenham to Wadham, but it brought ruin to most of the existing members of the foundation. It was stipulated in the articles of surrender that members of the University might be removed, and that Parliament might reform the University; in fact there was already a Parliamentary Committee for this very purpose, which, as early as July 2, 1646, sent an order that no elections should be made to vacant posts in Oxford—an order which, of course, was treated with contempt. Nothing was actually done for nearly a year—till May 1, 1647—when twenty-four Visitors were appointed for the University. Oxford had played too prominent a part on the Royal side to go unpunished, and Parliament knew the influence of learning in the country too well not to endeavour to secure the scholars for their own side. But still no active proceedings were taken, and the University had time to draw up its "Reasons" for objecting to the tests about to be imposed on them; Warden Pitts is said to have had a leading share in composing this work, while the legal learning was supplied by Dr.

graphy says that Sydenham made a mistake of a year, and was not really admitted till October 14, 1647. This is improbable in itself, and he certainly was a member of Wadham in September 1647, when he was appointed delegate by the Visitors mentioned above.

Zouch, one of the most eminent civilians of the time, who had been appointed from Wadham to the headship of Alban Hall in 1625.

The whole proceedings were very characteristic of the legality of the English Revolution. The Vice-Chancellor and the heads of houses were summoned at the close of 1647 before the Parliamentary Committee, and after some delay were allowed to be represented by counsel. Both sides appealed to the law, but neither side would admit the main principles on which the other's case was based; finally the Committee voted the denial of their authority a "high contempt," and proceeded to depose the Vice-Chancellor and various heads of houses. But nothing came of this till next year, when the new Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, came down to Oxford, with a force of soldiers (April 11, 1648), and the obstinate University was at last coerced into submission.

Oxford had had nearly two years of grace given her, and could hardly complain that her conquerors used the strong hand at last; but there is something very pathetic in the conduct of her authorities, who steadfastly refused all offers of compromise, and stuck to their principles to the end. Among the first to fall was Warden Pitts, who was ejected on April 13, when the name of the new Warden, John Wilkins, was entered on the Buttery Book.

This long delay in striking was partly due to the rivalry between the Presbyterians and the Independents; but it was also partly due to consideration for the University. Those who were visiting and reforming her were in most cases old Oxford men; among them

was the famous scholar Selden, the burgess of the University, who actually assisted his constituents with advice how to prepare and conduct their case against the Commission of which he himself was a member. It is at once amusing and most instructive to notice how distressed the Visitors were at not being able to obtain the "pokers" of the Bedels, which those loyal officers refused to surrender to usurped authority. They complain that the want of them is "a great dishonour of this University," but they did not get them till the year 1649 was well advanced.

Men so minded were not likely to let the University dignity and property suffer, however severe they might be with individuals. Some of the college tenants seem to have thought they might safely withhold rent from such "malignant" landlords,* but they soon learned their mistake. The authority of the Parliamentary Committee was brought to bear on them, and the colleges were saved at all events from this indirect form of spoliation.

But though the University went on, and, as we shall see, prospered, it was a hard time for its royalist members. At Wadham, of thirteen Fellows, nine shared the fate of the Warden; of fourteen scholars also nine refused to submit and paid the penalty, while of fourteen commoners or battellars who came before the Visitors, all were expelled but three.† The behaviour of the scholars is especially heroic; all of them were

* So the Wadham tenant at Hockley is summoned before the Parliamentary Committee at Westminster, and compelled to pay his rent, (Warden's MS. 74).

† Some of these had been in residence fifteen years. The above

young men (the oldest had been elected in 1640, while three dated from the previous year only—1647), and they had a fellowship in certain prospect if they submitted. But they showed the same firmness against a domineering Parliament as the demies of Magdalen showed forty years later against an arbitrary King.

The terms of the refusals are various; some appeal to the authority of the Visitor as the only one to which they are bound to submit; a large number decline to recognise the authority of Parliament without the King. Others again simply evade the question by declaring their submission to "all just and lawful authority." The answer of Mr. Lionel Pine is delightfully obscure in its elaborate self-justification: "I hope that no man, since he cannot find in my past life whence to censure me, greedy to find faults that he will rake my own breast to confess that which no man accuse me of neither do I myself yet know—viz., what I possibly shall do hereafter this when I shall be commanded that which I yet never heard of." The Committee, however, cut the knot of obscurity by resolving that Mr. Pine did not "submit." Rather touching also is the answer of one of the servants, R. Mayo: "Seeing many learned men, which are better skilled in the laws and statutes of the University than myself, have given a denial to the proposed question, I, following their rules, have thought fit to deny it myself."

But, in admiring those who gave up all for their con-

figures are based on Mr. Gardiner's Register. Prof. Burrows in his Register of the Visitors, 1647–1658 (Camden Society, 1881) gives the figures as twenty-two expelled and nineteen submitting (I count his doubtful ones in each total).

victions, we must not be too hard on those who chose the easier part. There was a large amount of legality on the side of the Visitors, and after all the college had to go on and its continuous history to be maintained. Of those who submitted the most famous was Walter Blandford, who afterwards became Warden, Chaplain to Lord Clarendon, and finally Bishop of Worcester. He had obtained his election as scholar under false pretences, since he was too old by four years, and his life shows him to have been something of a time-server; his portrait in Hall rather confirms this view of his character; but he deserves the gratitude of the College for reviving the register of all admissions which had been neglected by his predecessor, Wilkins, and at his death, in 1675 (among his other benefactions), he left £200 to his College.

Of the new members intruded into the vacant places, the Warden and two of the Fellows came from Magdalen Hall, which had been, even under Laud, a great stronghold of Puritanism; another, R. Atkins, came from Hart Hall, and is said to have been a chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; a fourth came from St. Andrews, and a fifth from Cambridge. Of their characters and the work which they did, and of the men admitted under them, I must speak in the next chapter. For the present I must continue the general story of Wadham, especially in its relation to the Parliamentary Visitors.

Here, however, it may be said generally that the University went on very much as before. This can be illustrated at Wadham as well, perhaps, from the Library as anywhere else; there are a few books of Puritan con-

troversial divinity added in 1649—the most valuable being some of the works of Reynolds; this we know from the quaint inscription, "*unus ex illis admissionis in Bibliothecam pecunia emptis*, 1649." But the majority of the books added are works of real learning —*e.g.*, Samuel Lee (p. 79), a Puritan of the Puritans, presents in 1653 the Aldine edition (1549) of the "Etymologicon Magnum," and other books of the same kind.

The Parliamentary Commission did not continue the same all through; the original members, among whom the Presbyterians had the upper hand, gave place in 1652 to a second commission, in which the Independents were the main power, and these again in 1654 to a new set. Some of the members, however, served on all three bodies. Wood * notes how this theological division prevailed through the whole period; the Presbyterians, he says, were very severe in their course of life, and preached nothing but "damnation"; the Independents were "more free and gay and, with a reserve, frolicsome"; they preached for liberty.

Of this latter party, he mentions Dr. Wilkins, the head of Wadham, as a leader, and facts seem to bear out this statement, for, in all the acts of the intruded Warden, it is the secular side that is prominent; *e.g.*, in September 1649 he is one of a committee of three who confer with the Mayor as to the safety of the city, at the time of the Levellers' rising, while two years later he is on a similar committee to check beggars, "that they may no more trouble the University." †

All through this period, and largely owing to these

* "Life," i. 148. † *Ibid.* 155, 166.

religious differences among the Visitors, the independence of the University was growing, and in 1652 freedom of election was restored to the different colleges, although they could only select from among candidates who had been passed by a board appointed for this purpose. It was no doubt owing to Wilkins' influence * that Wadham was one of the earliest colleges to receive back self-government; the Visitors decided in May 1651 that it and Trinity were "in a fit capacity to make their own elections in a statutable way." But the Parliamentary Committee in London did not recognise this decision, and continued to make appointments; even as late as 1654 the rights of the college to elect its scholars to fellowships were questioned, though they had been recognised in 1653.†

Even after the members of the college had submitted to the Visitation, their tests were not over; they were called upon in February 1650 to appear before the Visitors in hall, and sign the Engagement, promising fidelity to the established government. All apparently did this, although the demand offended some prominent Presbyterians at other colleges in Oxford, especially Reynolds, the Dean of Christ Church, who lost his headship from refusing to comply.

But the Visitors had other work to do besides political work and clearing the colleges of their opponents. At Wadham they were very solicitous as to the finances of the society; in 1650 they permitted three fellowships and three scholarships to be suspended for four years;

* Of this Board Wilkins the Warden of Wadham was one.

† Warden's MS. III: 106.

sad to say there was owing more than £400 to "brewers, bakers, and others."*

They had already in 1649 made special inquiries as to the value of all headships. In 1651 they ordered that "augmentations" should be paid out of the "profits of first fruits" to eleven colleges and one hall; the Warden of Wadham was to receive £63 10*s.* a year, *i.e.*, in addition to the £100 which he received under the statutes.† These too were revised in other respects; the restriction of the Founders on the marriage of the Warden was removed, (1652),‡ and Wilkins was the only married Warden of Wadham for more than two centuries.

But their religious work was undoubtedly, in the eyes of most of the Visitors, the most important part of their duties. In April 1651 they issued an elaborate order as to public and private services; probably the college chapel had been made an excuse for not attending public worship in the churches. This evasion is to be prevented in future, and services fixed for late on Saturday or early on Monday are to be changed "in order that the scholars may the more comfortably enjoy the public ordinances of the Lord's Day."§ But it was not

* Warden's MSS. 86.

† Warden's MSS. 102. I think Mr. Jackson (p. 117) misreads this in treating it as referring to the whole value of the headship. It is distinctly called an "augmentation." *Cf.*, note in Burrows' "Visitation," p. cx., but he does not refer to the Wadham MS.

‡ The date is important to notice, as it disproves Wood's statement that the change was merely made because Wilkins married Cromwell's sister; this marriage did not take place till 1656. No doubt the Visitors thought that the statute savoured of Popery as it enforced celibacy.

§ Warden's MSS. 89.

on the Lord's Day only that the students were to attend services; as early as 1649 the Visitors ordered that the Tuesday lecture at St. Mary's at 7 A.M. be "frequented." This was to be provided by the colleges according to a cycle in which Christ Church has five turns, Magdalen and New College four and three respectively, while Wadham, with four other colleges, has two. Balliol and University had sunk so low that they only had one turn between them.* The list is interesting as a rough indication of the relative size and importance of the various foundations.

Nor were the students merely to attend sermons; they were also to take notes, and in the evening between six and nine, to give an account of them to persons "of known ability and piety" in hall or chapel. The Warden and all seniors were to attend, and there were to be prayers and other proper religious exercises.† This was in 1653; as might be expected the rule was difficult to enforce, for the question of attendance at divine service is raised again in 1656,‡ and as late as March 1657, a special University committee was appointed to take measures for its enforcement.§ Apparently the Restoration found them still sitting, and rendered their further labours needless.

The Visitors further asked for a return of the preachings and divinity exercises at Wadham, "for exercise in the things of God doth much increase knowledge and savour therein,"‖ and went on to order all M.A.s to preach, even though unordained, unless they are students in one of the higher faculties. Tutors

* Wood's "Life," i. 159. † Warden's MSS. 103.
‡ *Ibid.* 115. § *Ibid.* 116. ‖ *Ibid.* 108.

also were to take careful account of the time of their pupils, to "cause them to repair to their chambers" between seven and ten, and to pray with them.*

Besides these provisions for godliness, rules for the encouragement of study are frequent. The Visitors attempted to check non-residence, and to enforce the use of Latin within college walls, while tutors were to exercise supervision over their pupils' money matters, and to receive and manage their allowances for them.† In fact just as the Laudian reform had endeavoured to make Oxford men good churchmen and scholars, so now the Parliamentary Visitors tried to make their generation Puritans and scholars. Both had some success on the side of study, though Laud succeeded better in church matters; Clarendon's tribute to Puritan Oxford is well known; it "yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning."

This success seems to have been especially marked at Wadham, which flourished mightily under Wilkins; there are fifty-seven admissions in Mr. Gardiner's Register for the year 1650, and they average twenty-eight for the next three years. And the character of the men remained the same; the old West country connection revived, and Wyndhams and Strangewayes came to the old place as though no revolution had occurred. And as new fellow commoners were admitted, their purses were called on to replace the plate which King Charles' mint had swallowed. The benefactions of this kind begin again in 1652, although we can no

* Warden's MSS. 105.

† Warden's MSS. 105. This supervision was in part the established rule at Cambridge—at least till recent years.

longer count among them the famous sugar-castor of that "prodigious young scholar," Mr. Christopher Wren. It is true that it bears his name, and the date 1653, but Mr. Cripps says that the makers' mark proves that it could not have been made till 1720; either then the money was not spent for more than two generations, or the gift is that of Wren's old age—he died in 1723—and shows that he remembered his old college to the last.* In any case the date is fatal to the belief as to the sugar-castor, which I have heard from the college under-butler: "They do say as how he designed the Dome of St. Paul's from it afterwards." But Wren's great name is only the most famous of those which form the subject of the next chapter.

* If this theory be adopted, the college put on the castor the date of Wren's leaving Wadham. There is, of course, a third view possible (see p. 57)—that the sugar-castor was remade about 1720.

CHAPTER VI

WADHAM IN THE TIMES OF WARDEN WILKINS

To give the Warden's name in the heading of this chapter is no mere compliment to his office; for he was undoubtedly the first in the eyes of contemporaries of the brilliant group of men who then adorned the college, and is second only to Wren in the judgment of posterity. Of Wilkins' activity in the University something has been already said; in this chapter we must speak of his personal career, and of his influence on Wadham.

He was the son of an Oxford tradesman, and graduated from Magdalen Hall: he owed his first rise to the patronage of Lord Saye and Sele, and at the age of thirty-four was intruded into the lodgings of Wadham. From that time onwards he was one of the chief forces in the University, using his influence to promote knowledge and to reconcile opposing parties. He had, says Burnet, "a courage which could stand against a current," and he ventured to protect royalists of learning against the victorious party. He also has the credit of having done something to save the University itself from the violence of fanatics; it was much attacked

by them, and it was even proposed in Parliament in 1653 that the lands of the Universities should be confiscated; the attempt was renewed in 1659. Wilkins owed part of his influence to his marriage with Oliver Cromwell's sister, which took place in 1656, but he was already a leading man in his party when he was appointed at Wadham.

As might be expected he was unpopular with the extreme men of both parties. He was preached at from the University pulpit, by a fanatic of one side, as a "mere moral man, without the power of godliness;"* Wood tells us that on the other side Sheldon, Fell and others did "malign him for his wavering and unconstant mind in religion." But Wood himself has nothing worse than this to say against him, and tries to say as little ill as possible. In fact he was popular with all parties, and even the Restoration did not check his career of advancement, for he was made Bishop of Chester by Charles II. in 1668. From the point of view of English history this is perhaps Wilkins' most important characteristic; he is one of the founders of the Latitudinarian party in the Church. He has the more claim to this title as he was Tillotson's father-in-law, and he actually was residing at the house of the future Archbishop when he died in 1672.

But Warden Wilkins is much more important in the history of English science. The manifold activities of the revival of learning had sent men to Nature as well as to the study of the ancient languages, and the foundations of modern science were laid in the sixteenth

* The whole passage is given in Pope's "Life of Seth Ward," p. 43. I shall quote this most amusing book in future as "Pope."

century; but human weakness always likes to trace great movements to a definite author, and so Bacon and his "Novum Organon" were looked upon (even in his own day) as the starting-point of the new movement. Cowley's fine lines are well known:

> "Bacon like Moses led us forth at last,
> The desert wide he passed,
> And did upon the very border stand
> Of the fair Promised Land,
> And from the mountain top of his exalted wit,
> Saw it himself and showed us it."

The Royal Society, in praise of which these lines were written, set itself to enter on the domain of the "new philosophy," as it was called, and Wilkins was, says Aubrey,* the "principal reviver" of this study, "*secundum mentem domini Baconi*," at Oxford. Already, in 1645, weekly meetings of those interested in this subject had begun in London; but these were transferred to Oxford, where Wilkins had "weekly an experimental philosophical club, which began 1649, and was the incunabula of the Royal Society." This

* Aubrey's *Brief Lives* (ed. A. Clark), vol. ii. 301. Aubrey was himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, and began his *Lives* in 1680 A similar account of the origin of the Royal Society is given in Sprat's *History*, 1667. There is, however, a different version of the facts given by Dr. John Wallis in a pamphlet published in 1678; according to this the scientific meetings were continuous in London from 1645 onwards, and the Oxford meetings were always subsidiary; they were also held originally in Dr. Petty's lodgings, and only later at Wadham. This account, it will be seen, minimises the connection between the college and the Royal Society; it is however, less consistent with probability and with other known facts than that which I have adopted.

was transferred to London about 1658, and the official journal of the Society begins by telling how, on November 28, 1660, at a meeting at Gresham College, it was resolved to formally organise a college for promoting "physico-mathematical experimental learning."*. Of the committee appointed to carry out this resolution Wilkins was the chairman, and he apparently took the lead till March 1661, when the first president was appointed. The Royal Charter was obtained in July 1662. It is the proudest boast of Wadham that it was thus the cradle of the Royal Society. The tradition that the meetings were held in the room over the gateway (now the Tower Library) must be given up, for before the time of Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham had already migrated from his original quarters to the north-west corner of the front quad, which he still occupies; it is to one of the rooms of the present lodgings, perhaps the large drawing-room, that the honour belongs of being the first local habitation of the new movement. The Tower Library must content itself with the honour—surely great enough—of having been for three years the home of Sir Christopher Wren.† The Oxford branch of the Royal Society continued to meet till 1690, but not at Wadham.

Wilkins was a "dear and excellent friend" of the Royalist Evelyn, who has left us an account of the curious contrivances in which this "most obliging and

* Of the 12 then present, 3—Wilkins, Wren, and Rooke, were Wadham men.

† The windows on the garden side of the two main rooms in the lodgings are clearly seen in plate vii. The fine bow window of the Tower Library is prominent in the centre of plate iv., while the lodgings are seen in the right hand corner of the same picture.

universally curious" scholar delighted. "He has in his lodgings and gallery variety of shadows, dials, perspective and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way-wiser, a thermometer, a monstrous magnet—most of them of his own, and of that prodigious young scholar, Mr. Chr. Wren."* He also gave Evelyn a transparent apiary for taking the honey without destroying the bees.

The interests of Wilkins were perhaps rather mechanical and mathematical than literary; but he was a considerable author. His first work was an attempt to prove that the moon may be habitable (published in 1638), which attracted attention even on the Continent; it was followed by a treatise on the possibility of reaching the moon. He also tried to invent a universal (or, as he called it, a "philosophical") language (1668), and wrote on "Mathematical Magic" —*i.e.*, the wonders of geometry. His theological works were especially devoted to discouraging enthusiasm and fanaticism. It is one of his minor writings which, by a curious chance, is perhaps the best remembered; he contributed to "Pole's Synopsis" an article on Noah's Ark, showing the possibility of putting all the animals into it as required by the narrative of Genesis. This was illustrated with a wonderful picture, and survived in editions of Josephus down even to our own day. It does more credit to the Warden's ingenuity and orthodoxy than to his judgment.†

It is tempting to go on writing of Wilkins, but only

* Evelyn "Diary," ii. 57 *seq.*

† Most of Wilkins' books are in the library, and are quite readable. Unfortunately they are not presentation copies from him,

one side more of his varied accomplishments can be dwelt on. He was a great patron of music, and Antony Wood gives an interesting story of how he was invited to the Warden's lodgings to hear Baltzar, the German violinist, play in a way "which no one in England saw like before." Unfortunately no one could be induced to play with him, until at last Antony Wood himself was "haled in, and play forsooth he must against him"; "whereupon he took up a violin and behaved himself as poor Troilus did against Achilles."* Wadham seems to have been a great centre of music at the time, and several Wadham men are mentioned among Wood's musical friends.

The portraits of Wilkins, of which the college has two, are very characteristic; they show him, as Antony Wood describes him, "a burly, strong-grown, well-set, broad-shouldered person, cheerful and hospitable." He left £200 in his will to his old college.

Wilkins gathered round him at Wadham a number of men like-minded with himself; foremost amongst these was Christopher Wren, who came up as a fellow-commoner in 1649, and resided till he was elected a fellow at All Souls' in 1653. Even after this he seems to have kept rooms in Wadham, for he was still paying for the "chamber over the gateway" (the present Tower Library) in October 1663. He was a universal genius, for (apart from his fame as an architect) he was Savilian Professor of Astronomy, while in

though his early works were given in 2 handsome volumes by one of his fellows. The only gifts to the library (that I know of) from Wilkins himself are Harvey's *De Generatione Animalium*, a very characteristic choice, and two books of John Lightfoot, the great Rabbinic scholar.

* "Life," i. 257.

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

WADHAM QUADRANGLE FROM S.W.

mathematical ability he was ranked by competent authorities second only to Newton among the men of his time. It was his genius which caused the Italian style of architecture to prevail at last over the late Gothic, of which his own college is so conspicuous an example. His affection to that college was shown by his present of a clock, of which the face still tells the time to his successors; the works, after 200 years of service, now stand at rest (and a little damaged) in the antechapel.

Another of the celebrities whom Wilkins brought to Wadham was Wren's predecessor in the chair of Astronomy, Dr. Seth Ward, who was incorporated from Cambridge in 1649, and who lived in "the chamber over the gateway" * till he was elected President of Trinity in 1659. He had been expelled from Cambridge by the Parliamentary party, and even imprisoned for a time; but his fame as a mathematical scholar was so great that he was not required to take at Oxford either the Covenant or the Engagement. As professor, he at once revived the reputation of his chair by regular lecturing; this seems to have been unusual, and still more that he never "failed of a good auditory." He also taught privately for nothing, and preached frequently, though he was not bound to do so by the rules of his chair. Even at this time men saw the lawn sleeves falling on his shoulders, and Pope tells an amusing story of a fair precisian who, "drolling with him," promised him a pair of lawn sleeves when he was a bishop, and who paid them too, when he was nomi-

* He was thus Wren's predecessor in his college rooms as well as in his University professorship.

nated to the See of Exeter.* His biographer says that he nearly escaped this promotion by being "buried alive in Trinity College"; but fortunately for him, the expelled President returned, and Ward had to retire to the West, where he, as Dean of Exeter, made himself so popular that, when the Bishop died, the whole county pressed his claims on King Charles II.; "the old bishops—*e.g.*, Cosin of Durham—were exceedingly disgruntled at it, to see a brisk young bishop, but forty years old, not come in at the right door, but leap over the pale"; † but, when once appointed, he gave the greatest satisfaction to all churchmen, both there and at Salisbury, to which see he was translated in 1667. Ward, while at Oxford, defended the Universities in his *Vindiciae Academiarum* against the "frenzy and weakness" of those who styled them "nurseries of wickedness, nests of mutton tuggers, and dens of formal drones"; ‡ he also wrote against the philosophy of Hobbes. He too like Wren and the Warden, was a friend of Evelyn. The college unfortunately has no portrait of him, but his dark handsome face can be seen in the hall of Trinity, and also at Oriel. Besides Ward, Wadham College at this time imported another famous mathematician from Cambridge in Mr. Laurence Rooke, who succeeded Wren as Gresham Professor of Astronomy, but who died the next year.

Along with the four scholars just mentioned, Wadham had three other original members of the Royal Society in Walter Pope (of whom more presently), Richard Napier,§

* Pope, p. 33. † Aubrey, ii. 287.

‡ Wood, "Life," i. 293.

§ Napier was created M.A. after only 3 years' residence. The

who had joined the college as long ago as 1624, and Thomas Sprat, who as early as 1667 was the Royal Society's historian; his account * of the advantage of these meetings is very characteristic of his time: "there was a race of young men provided against the next age, whose minds, receiving their first impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly armed against all the encroachments of enthusiasm." Unfortunately for himself, Sprat left the safe paths of science for politics, and ended his days as Bishop of Rochester; his conduct in that position, when he became one of James II.'s Ecclesiastical Commissioners, has earned for him a place in Macaulay's pillory. He had a good prose style, and he was also, says Wood, "an excellent poet," but the judgment of the seventeenth century on this latter point has not been confirmed by posterity, and his name of "Pindaric" Sprat is only remembered as a jest. Those who wish to make further acquaintance with Sprat cannot do better than begin with his answer to a certain Frenchman named Sorbière, who had written an account of England; it is an amusing little book. His portrait in the hall shows him, as might be expected, a comfortable looking, not to say smug, divine.

The scientific enthusiasm at Wadham was so great that it spread even to the servants. Aubrey † mentions

Chancellor wrote specially on his behalf, that he was "a kinsman of the Duchess of Richmond," and "a person that is well deserving in all that is necessary in a gentleman and a scholar;" to which of these grounds he owed his rapid graduation does not appear. The superstitious Aubrey (ii. p. 92) tells a marvellous story of the vision which foretold Napier's death.

* "History of the Royal Society," P. 53.

† "Brief Lives," i. 127; see also Wood's "Fasti," sub anno, 1621.

a manciple of the college, Christopher Brookes, who was a mathematical instrument maker, and invented a new quadrant. Wilkins gave him a servant's place worth £30 a year, "purposely to encourage his ingenuity."

As was natural in a body of such tastes, the number of men who devoted themselves to medicine was considerable; none of them rose to the eminence of the Wadham doctors of the preceding generation, Sydenham and Joyliff,* but Mayow, as a pure scientist, ranks higher than even Sydenham. His chemical views anticipate those of Lavoisier, and his physical and anatomical discoveries were also considerable. He too like Wren and Sydenham, went as a fellow to All Souls' (1660) after two years' residence at Wadham, where his undergraduate career seems to have been of a somewhat festive kind. He took part in the first stage performances in Oxford (July 1660), after the Restoration had once more given licence for such amusements. The performance caused the greatest offence to the Puritans, one of whom, in a contemporary pamphlet, described (with more vigour than accuracy) the awful deaths that soon overtook the actors.† Mayow, in spite of his Puritan censor, did not die suddenly in 1660; his death at the early age of thirty-seven will hardly be looked upon by the present generation as a judgment, but it was a grievous blow to English science. There is unfortunately no portrait of him in Wadham.

* This distinguished physiologist entered at Wadham in 1636. After serving in Lord Hopkins' army, he graduated in medicine at Cambridge, and discovered the lymph ducts; his early death (at 35) was a great loss to scientific medicine.

† Wood, "History," iii. 704 *seq.*

Several other members of the college also were well known as doctors in their day ; I can only just mention the erratic Guidott (matriculated 1656), who, after declining the professorships of medicine at Venice and at Leyden, formed a great practice at Bath and ruined it by his ungovernable temper and conceit ; his medical works are numerous. A still more curious person was Jeamson (matriculated 1654), the only Wadham fellow who has ever been a professional "beautifier": his book on "Artificial Embellishments" promises those ladies who will follow it that all others shall look compared to them "as blubbered jugs in a cupboard of Venice glass." Nor must I quite omit another medical man, Robert Smith (matriculated 1659), who was afterwards a considerable benefactor of the college ;* his name can still be read on the East wall of the garden, which was rebuilt at his expense in 1685. †

It is time to turn to other sides of the College studies besides those more immediately patronised by the Warden. And here at once Samuel Lee becomes prominent, one of the intruded Fellows, who deserved well of Wadham for the improvements he introduced in the system of account keeping and in the Chamber Book ; it is to him we owe the original names of the staircases. ‡

* He left a charge on his estate of Warnbrook near Chard, for the improvement of the stipends of the Warden and of other college officers.

† The college received another benefaction about the same time from a senior centemporary of Smith's, Sir Benjamin Maddox, an Essex gentleman, who left a farm in his native country to endow an exhibition for a poor student.

‡ These are :

I.—Buller's Inn and Prince's Buller (*cf*, p. 28) was the poor kinsman of the Foundress, and the first butler.

The Lodgings.—North Bay and North Crest.

He seems to have been a man of extraordinary vigour, and as such was appointed Junior Proctor by the Visitors in 1651, although he had only been up four years. He was selected by an Oxford publisher to continue to his own time Helvicus' "Theatrum Historicum," which seems then to have been a popular historical manual, and, after he had gone down to his congregation in London, the University caused to be printed at its own expense his "Orbis Miraculum" (1659), a treatise on the Temple of Solomon. His dedication of this book to his old society is really eloquent, and some old Wadham men may care to hear part of the blessings which are invoked upon them: "I shall meanwhile not cease to breathe our hearty prayers towards the Golden Mercy seat, that all within your walls may be set up for standing pillars in the House of God, that your hearts may be flaming altars, your tongues golden harps, and that garments of praise may be your covering; that the Great High Priest would please to sprinkle your consciences from all dead works, with His own precious blood, and that He would carry your names engraven upon the stones of His breastplate continually before the Father."

After Lee had been deprived by the Rump of his

II.—Foundress' and University.
III.—The Chapel Chambers.
IV.—The Hall Chambers.
V.—College Chambers and Founder's.
VI.—South Crest and South Bay.
VII.—Chaplains and Tower Chambers.
Tower Library.—Astronomy Chamber.
In the Back quad the site No. X. was occupied by "the Back Buildings."

living, St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, he still continued to preach, and some old pupil of his seems to have presented his sermons to the college, which has a complete set of the famous "Morning Exercises" in which they occur. Finally he went to America, where Cotton Mather, his son-in-law, described him as "the most universally learned person that ever set foot on the American strand"; but perhaps that was not saying much—in those days.

Wadham, however, was much richer at this period in conformists than in nonconformists. Besides Wilkins and Ward, four* other future bishops became members of Wadham within ten years; Sprat of Rochester has been already mentioned, and Ironside of Hereford will be spoken of in the next chapter. The other two played very opposite parts in the last great struggle for English liberty; Samuel Parker (matriculated 1657) was the Bishop of Oxford whom James II. forced upon Magdalen as its President, while William Lloyd (a former Fellow of Jesus; matriculated at Wadham 1655) was, as Bishop of St. Asaph, sent to the Tower with his six brethren for venturing to petition the King against the order in council as to the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence. Lloyd was a considerable scholar, though of a popular kind; Wilkins said of him that he had "more learning in ready cash" than any one else whom he knew; he also seems to have been something

* I do not reckon the famous preacher and bishop of Derry, Ezekiel Hopkins, although he is well represented in the college collection of engravings. He seems to have been a member of Wadham for only 4 days—at all events his caution money was restored after that interval—and he really belongs to Magdalen; his son, Samuel, however, was sent by him to Wadham.

of a wag; for he induced a Londoner named Kynaston, a man of venerable appearance, to pretend, while stopping at the Mitre, to be a Greek patriarch. Several royalists went to him to be blessed, among them Lloyd's fellow Wadham man, Ironside; while even the Dean of Christ Church (Owen) and some of the Presbyterians "resorted to him for to draw up and give him a model." Finally the Greek Professor came down and delivered a formal harangue in Greek, which was too much for those who were in the joke, so that they burst out laughing. Lloyd had to abscond for the time, but he used to "make his braggs" of it afterwards.*

There seems more point—of a kind—in this joke—than in a more elaborate one which Sprat and others played on a young Wadham poet, Samuel Austin, who appears to have been an insufferable coxcomb, a kind of seventeenth-century Robert Montgomery. They succeeded in procuring some pieces of his prose and verse, and published them with humorous comments, and with introductory verses of feigned commendation, under the title of "Naps upon Parnassus" (1658). It is hard to say which are the duller, the real or the sham verses. Austin, owing to this jest or from some other cause, soon migrated to Cambridge.

Wadham, of course, was in high favour with the powers that were; it had both a son-in-law—John Russell—and a nephew of the Protector—a young Desborough. But much better known are three men of rank who play a prominent part in the succeeding generation. John Lord Lovelace and Sir Charles Sedley both came up in 1655; neither of them has much to

* Wood's "Life," i. 262–3.

boast of in the way of character, but, while the latter was only a witty and reckless rake, the former was a man of action, and played a considerable part in bringing about the Revolution of 1688; he was one of the first to rise for the Prince of Orange, and was captured, but, thanks to William's success, he regained his liberty instead of losing his head. More pathetic is the story of the well-known Earl of Rochester, who came up at the age of twelve in 1660, took his M.A. at fourteen, ran away with his wife—"a great fortune"—at the age of eighteen, and died at Woodstock, bankrupt in health, character, and fortune, in 1680. Burnet's account of his death-bed repentance is one of the most human and touching of works of edification. All these three are represented by gifts among the college plate, while the Whig sympathies of Wadham made it welcome a gigantic portrait of Lord Lovelace (by Laroon), which now hangs over the screen in hall. (plate vi.)

One other Wadham worthy of this period must be mentioned, Dr. Walter Pope, the half-brother of Warden Wilkins, whose life of Seth Ward has been already referred to. He succeeded Rooke as Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, being the third Wadham man in succession to hold the post; but he had other interests than those of pure science, if Wood is right in attributing to him the memoirs of Claude Duval, the famous highwayman; the book was so successful that 10,000 copies were printed. His great title to fame, however, is the brave stand which he made as Proctor in 1658 for University "formalities," "the decent distinctions of degrees, caps, and hoods," against the "godly party" who were pleased to cry out against

them as "relics of popery and rags of the Scarlet Whore;" in this they even had the support of the Vice-Chancellor, the famous Dr. Conant, head of Exeter College. But when the repeal of the statute enforcing these came on in Convocation, "all the antediluvian cavaliers — I mean fellows of colleges, who had the good fortune to survive the flood of the Visitation"— came out of their retirement "in troops," and in spite of the heads of houses, the change of statute was rejected. The Vice-Chancellor at first declared the vote was the other way, but Pope, as Proctor, told him that he was usurping the Proctors' duty, and that "he had nothing to do in that affair." Conant replied, "Egregie Procurator, tace ("Good Mr. Proctor, hold your tongue"). Upon this the masters, in a tumultuary manner, rose from their seats, and began to 'mutiny," so that the house broke up in confusion. Conant next day sent for Pope to attest the repeal of the statute; but Pope bade the bedel "present his service to the Vice-Chancellor, and withal to tell him that 'I wondered he should esteem me so great a fool, knave, or coward, or all of them together, as to give it under my hand that I was perjured.'" To this "there was no rejoinder, and so this affair ended." The result was an extraordinary run on the "makers and sellers" of caps and gowns, and more "scholars at St. Mary's in their formalities than ever I saw before or since."* And so University order was saved.

It is to this period that belongs the beginning of the garden, which has always been and is still one of the charms—it might be said the glories—of Wadham.

* Pope, p. 40 *seq.*

Originally the land to the north of the buildings had been let, and the college had only a narrow lane running close under its wall; the Foundress, however, obviously intended that the tenant should prepare his holding for the future use of her foundation, for she stipulates in the lease of thirty-six years (given 1611) that "he is to leave the ground well and sufficiently furnished with apple-trees, pear-trees, and other fruit-trees, thereupon, to be growing of the growth of twenty years, fit for an orchard at the end of thirty-six years."* This lease did not, however, run out its full course, for Warden Estcott, who died in 1644, had resumed for his own use the western part of the land—*i.e.*, the piece north of the present lodgings. This arrangement was confirmed by the college in 1645, and in 1650 the rest of the land was taken in—*i.e.*, the larger part of the fellows' garden to the north of the chapel. It was then elaborately laid out with formal walks and trim beds, after the fashion of the time; in the centre was a mound, with a figure of Atlas "holding a world curiously gilded," which seems to have been a familiar object in Oxford, and it is referred to in the light literature of the next generation.† The whole can be be seen in Loggan's picture (1675), which is reproduced as the frontispiece of this book.

During the reign of Warden Wilkins, Wadham received its first considerable benefaction since the

* The rent was £8 for about 2 acres, a very high price.

† *Cf.*, Remains of John Oldham, *ad fin.*, 1697. I owe this reference to the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen. The world was looked upon as a "poetical emblem to express the vast comprehension Atlas had in inventing Astronomy." (Poynter, "Guide to Oxford," 1748).

death of the Foundress. John Goodridge had been appointed by her one of the original fellows, and had resided, filling in succession all the college offices, till 1631, when the term of his fellowship expired; on leaving Oxford, he had presented the whole of his furniture to the college, which in those days, as now, provided this for all but fellows.* Since then he had been Gresham Professor of Rhetoric and Warden of Trinity Hospital at Greenwich. Dying in 1654, he bequeathed to the college not only his library, containing a number of curious medical works,† but also his property, including a farm at Walthamstow. The proceeds, subject to a payment to some connections of his,‡ were to go towards the foundation of certain exhibitions at Wadham, and for other purposes, of which the most important were the following: each of his pensioners (*i.e.*, the exhibitioners) received £9, and three of the foundation scholars had each £3. Then there was a payment of £2 for the catechist, with another £1 if he lectured in the Long Vacation. There were six other payments, including £1 a year for a speech in praise of the Founder on October 20 (the day of his death). This was unfortunately abolished in the latter days of Warden Symons; but the payments, as a whole, went on till the last revision of the statutes in 1882. They, and similar payments, made the bursar's accounts a marvel of complexity; it is one, and not the least, of the many services to Wadham of the present Warden, that he, as

* The Spartan simplicity of the provision usually made is well shown in the lists printed in Jackson, pp. 151–2.

† He had been admitted to practise medicine, 1618.

‡ This is still paid.

Bursar, organised the whole system of the college accounts on modern lines.

There are few Wadham men of any standing to whom the name of Goodridge is not familiar; but unluckily the last University Commission (1882) has merged his exhibitions, with those of other benefactors, in one common Exhibition Fund, and now not only are the old names lost, but the use of the funds is partly changed; the money is spent largely on exhibitioners elected along with the scholars, instead of being given, as in old days, to men already in residence, for work and good conduct at Oxford. John Goodridge had a sumptuous funeral, costing nearly £9, of which full accounts are preserved in the Warden's MSS.* His blunt honest face is still familiar to the college from his picture in hall.

* No. 112. No less than £3 6*s.* 7*d.* was spent in wine, of which four different kinds were provided; 2*s.* 6*d.* was deemed enough for bread, and even this small charge included "beer" also. The figures irresistibly recall the famous story of the funeral in Kansas, and make us wonder if the fellows asked the bursar "what in thunder he had wasted all that money on bread for?"

CHAPTER VII

WADHAM COLLEGE TILL THE REVOLUTION

Wadham College was affected but little by the Restoration. The expelled Warden, Pitts, had long been dead, and his successor, Wilkins, had been promoted to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1659. Hence, there was no claimant to disturb Dr. Blandford, who had been duly elected to succeed Wilkins, and even had any one been likely to attack him for his submission to the Puritan Visitation, he possessed powerful friends at Court. As a matter of fact, he was appointed a member of the new commission which was to restore expelled royalists to their places, and served as Vice-Chancellor in 1662 and 1663. In one case only was Wadham touched by the change of political fortune; Nicholas Strangewayes had been expelled from his fellowship in 1649 for non-submission to the Visitation, and had afterwards (1653) applied in vain for restitution. He now obtained a mandamus for his restoration, but he had to appeal to the new Royalist Chancellor, the Marquis of Hertford, to get it carried out; the college objected that there was no place vacant "suitable for him"—*i.e.*, presumably no Founder's kin fellowship was

vacant. But the Chancellor ruled that Strangewayes was to be reinstated at once, "notwithstanding any practice of the college to the contrary," and the expelled fellow recovered his place, and took a prominent part in the college life for the next sixteen years; he died in 1676, and was buried in the Antechapel.

To the same decade belongs another fellowship dispute, which is interesting as illustrating the powers of the Visitor and their limitations. Francis Pyle, a Devonshire man, who had been admitted scholar in 1661, was allowed to proceed to his M.A. in 1668, on condition that "he resigned all his rights in college at the next election"—*i.e.*, that he resigned all claim to a fellowship; such enforced resignations seem to have been customary at the time,* no doubt because the flow of promotion at Wadham was somewhat congested. But Pyle refused to be bound by his agreement, and "*fidem guardiano datam omni fraude et perfidia violavit; qui vero fidem fallit, oppugnat omnium commune praesidium*," as the Convention book grandly puts it; he appealed to the Visitor, who summoned the Warden and fellows to appear before him at Walthamstow. They seem to have obeyed this first summons, but the Bishop failed to keep the appointment he had made, and instead, ordered them to plead their case before him at Wells. This was too much for the sturdy Warden, Ironside, who had been elected to succeed Blandford (1665); he "replied denying the Bishop's right to visit except once in five years," unless requested,

* There are two similar cases among the men admitted in 1661 and 1662.

and pointing out that the Visitation must be at Oxford, not where the Bishop pleased. The Bishop then gave sentence (by default) for Pyle, and the college appealed to Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury; they also employed the mediation of a distinguished ex-fellow, William Turner, one of the judges of the Admiralty Court. Pyle had told the Warden that the Visitor was coming, and "the college would be too hot to hold them both"; but the Bishop denied the use of these threats, and withdrew his claim to restore Pyle. The college thus triumphed over its Visitor.

It is often said that, as Oxford had suffered in the cause of the Stuarts, so she prospered in their prosperity. No doubt this was the feeling of the time; but it is hard to see where the prosperity of the University came in after the Restoration. Of course it never received repayment of its loan of plate and money; Charles II. had quite other uses for his revenues than repaying his father's debts. Moreover, it cannot be said to have received any material access of dignity or privileges, which it had not enjoyed during the years immediately preceding the Restoration. It must rather be confessed that, in order and discipline, in learning and industry, in fact in all that makes a University deserve its name, the falling off in Oxford after 1660 was terrible. The witness against her is not only that of the conquered Puritans, but also of the devoted loyalist, Antony Wood, who laments the sad change. Oxford had been a real home of learning during Laud's Chancellorship; it had become so again when the troubles of the Civil War were over; but the pages of Wood and of Prideaux are filled under Charles II., not with records of the

advancement of knowledge, but with grave scandals and petty quarrels. One or two passages may be quoted. "There is no reward of learning, virtue, industry," says Wood; "our Universities decay, and those that are fit for them betake themselves to other employments."* "Noblemen's sons get fellowships and canonries for nothing, and deprive others more deserving of their bread." † The drinking in taverns which Laud had set himself so vigorously to suppress, was worse than ever; Wood records that there were more than 370 alehouses in Oxford, and attributes the decline of "solid and serious learning" to these and to the "coffey-houses." How low the sense of University decorum had sunk may be gathered from the proceedings of the Proctors in 1664; the Senior Proctor, Nathaniel Crewe, of Lincoln College (afterwards the munificent Lord Crewe), actually had the bad taste, in his speech on resigning office, to make personal allusions to the handsome daughter of a member of the University.

Whether Wadham suffered along with the rest of the University is not definitely recorded; it certainly is not singled out for unenviable notoriety as St. John's and New College are;‡ but the few indications we have point to the conclusion, which is otherwise probable, that it was no marked exception to the rule. In 1664, one of the commoners, Turner, the son of the distinguished judge just mentioned, actually committed murder; the victim was a bible clerk at Exeter. The crime seems to have been the result of a drunken quarrel, but Wood § says that his father's

* Wood, i. 465.
† *Ibid.* ii. 277.
‡ "Life," iii. 4.
§ *Ibid.* ii. 18.

influence saved young Turner when he was tried at the assizes on the capital charge. Even more significant, from the point of view of the general manners of the University, are the insults offered to the Proctors; in 1665, the undergraduates, who had just been flattered by the outgoing Senior Proctor as "men that are examples rather than to be made examples of," accompanied the new Senior Proctor, Phineas Bury, to the gate of Wadham, "kicking a barrel or a kidderkin that lay in the street, up Kat Street even with the Proctors," while the Vice-Chancellor "turned not back to reprove them."* Perhaps these rioters were not Wadham men, but it is to be feared the same excuse cannot be offered for the behaviour recorded in 1673, when the undergraduates invaded Wadham Hall, where the Junior Proctor, Salter, was just entertaining the members of Convocation who had escorted him home, "scrambled for biscuits, took away bottles, glasses, etc.": the same thing happened at Trinity to the Senior Proctor. Well may Wood end "Tempora mutantur, etc."† Another example of outrageous behaviour in a Wadham man on an official occasion was the speech of Nicholas Hall, M.A., at the Act on July 10, 1671. Twenty Cambridge men were being incorporated, among them the famous historian of the Reformation, John Strype; Hall attacked these so furiously that he was compelled next day to apologise for his offence against "*bonos mores et hospitalia jura*." Yet Hall was a man of some distinction in the Church, and was made a prebendary of Exeter in the very next year, and shortly afterwards treasurer and canon residentiary. If M.A.s and

* "Life," ii. 34. † *Ibid.* ii. 262.

clerics behaved in this way, it is not surprising that undergraduates were unruly.

This relaxation of discipline seems to have left a permanent result on the college life. As has been already mentioned, the Foundress has laid special stress on the use of Latin in the college hall, and the Puritan Visitors had striven to enforce this; but Wood notes in 1675 that "since the King was restored, it was looked upon as a piece of pedantry to produce a Latin sentence in discourse, to dispute theologically at the table at meals, to be earnest or zealous in any one thing"; * "bantering" was the fashion—*i.e.*, "uttering fluently romantic nonsense, unintelligible gibberish." † Court fashion in this way destroyed the regulations of founders.

But there is no need to exaggerate the darkness of the picture. If Wadham did not produce so plentiful a crop of learned men as in the time of Wilkins, yet, as will be seen, the days of Ironside were by no means barren of undergraduates of distinction. This Warden succeeded Blandford, who had been appointed Bishop of Oxford in December 1665,‡ and for the next twenty

* It need hardly be said that a fine or "sconce" was imposed for these offences; this was assessed in beer. During the last ten years, however, the rule has been altered; "sconces" are now at all events supposed to be inflicted in money, which is paid over to the Junior Common Room. Undesirable as it is to change old customs, the new rule is surely an improvement on the old one, which caused an excessive amount of beer to be ordered and then left to the servants. In other respects the old code remains unchanged, and a man, when "sconced," can still "appeal" to the Senior Commoner or Scholar, and then to the High Table.

† Wood, ii. 332, 4.

‡ Blandford was consecrated in New College Chapel; he owed his bishopric to the influence of Lord Clarendon.

years and more was one of the leading men in the University. He was the son of Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol, and inherited his father's latitudinarian views; these must have been strengthened by the influence of Wilkins, at whose feet, Wood tells us, he sat, and whom he greatly admired. This admiration led to a curious scene in 1674, when Wood's "History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford" (in its Latin version) was published. Warden Ironside invited the author and his friend, Nicholas Lloyd, to supper, and, as Wood says, "he gave me roast meat and beat me with the spit. He told me my book was full of contumelies, falsities, contradictions, and full of frivolous stuff." Wood's offence had been his reference to Wilkins' marriage, and to his obtaining promotion through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham. The Warden was rude enough to say it was shameful "that every snivelling fellow should undertake to write of secret matters of state";"that if he had been Vice-Chancellor, he would have caused the book to be burned," and "that scholars were generally clowns." Wood pertinently remarks: "But who was the more clown? he for abusing me and my book in his lodgings, I for my humility. A fool, puppy, child." * What made the conduct of Ironside the more outrageous was that he himself had used his influence to get Wood an extra payment of £50 for his work, and that Wood had come to supper especially to thank him. The whole scene seems to have been characteristic of Ironside, who on the one hand was notorious as the rudest man in the University, † and who yet was a man

* Wood, "Life," ii. 297.

† "Oxford Hist. Soc. Collectanea," vol. ii. 415. This was

of vigour and sense, ready to encourage good work and to reward its authors. As might be expected, Ironside did not agree with Fell, the great Dean of Christ Church, at this time the ruling spirit in the University, who had hated Wilkins; Fell thought Ironside "a prating and proud coxcomb" ("as indeed he is," adds Wood), and prevented him from being Vice-Chancellor.*

Whatever the merits or demerits of Ironside,† Wadham prospered greatly under him, at once in numbers and in the character of the men admitted; even in the stormy times of the Popish Plot (from 1679 to 1682), the number of admissions averaged over twenty, although Wood ‡ draws special attention to the falling off in the matriculations in Oxford generally. In one point, however, the historians of Wadham must blame Ironside; he gave up altogether the register, which had been hitherto kept, of those admitted who were not on the foundation. This is not resumed till 1719.

In speaking of the studies of this period, it is natural

Bishop Hough's opinion; yet Ironside, as will be seen, had been strongly on his side in the struggle between James II. and Magdalen College.

* Wood, "Life," iii. 224; but an entirely different and more probable reason for Ironside not being Vice-Chancellor at this time, is given by Prideaux, p. 52, who says the office was actually offered to him in 1676.

† The college is rich in portraits of the Ironside family. Of the Warden himself there are two, one in Hall and one in the Senior Common Room; he is represented as a firm and resolute looking man, with a somewhat ill-humoured expression. There are also in the bursary pictures of his father, the Bishop of Bristol, and of his grandfather (Ralph Ironside, with the date 1590): the last is a sad daub. These two and one of the portraits of the Warden were bequeathed to the college in this century by a member of the Ironside family.

‡ "Life," iii. 7.

to refer first to the scientific enthusiasm which had been so marked at Wadham in the preceding generation. This seems to have continued, and the register is full of names of medical practitioners, some of whom, at all events, were scientific researchers also. When the Oxford Chemical Society was formed in October 1683, to "improve real and experimental philosophy," and to correspond with the Royal Society in London, four of the original twenty-one members were Wadham men. Of these Robert Pitt (matriculated 1669) was the most eminent; he was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and deputy-Professor of Anatomy, but deserves special remembrance as being one of the first physicians who ventured to protest against the "folly of taking too much physic," and against some of the popular drugs in the pharmacopœia of the day, such as mummy or powdered vipers. As might be expected, his book, "The Craft and Fraud of Physic Exposed," involved him in a storm of controversy. Caswell (matriculated 1671), another of the four members just referred to, was afterwards Professor of Astronomy, and Head of Hart Hall; Hearne often mentions him, and praises his mathematical ability; he was one of the mainstays of that study in Oxford; but he was too Low Church for Hearne, who speaks of him as "hippish," and as a "crazed, whimsical, and at least deluded man," because he discoursed for an hour and a half about the Camisard prophets. Hearne says he was in the habit of doing this * "frequently to the no small trouble of his friends, who for this reason avoided his company." Caswell

* Hearne, O. H. S. iii. 114. These prophets belonged to the expelled Huguenots, and seem to have claimed to possess the gift of tongues.

was buried in Holywell Church with a long Latin inscription on his tomb.

Wadham also admitted during this period several considerable scholars in the strict sense of the word. Humphry Hody matriculated with his two brothers in 1675, but his activity as Regius Professor of Greek belongs to a later period, and he must be reserved for the following chapter. Much better known in his own day, and perhaps less forgotten in ours, was Thomas Creech, the editor and translator of Lucretius, who came up in 1677; if his own account may be trusted, his scholarship, which was considerable, was all acquired at Wadham, and not at Sherborne School. As he was the friend and the "chum"—*i.e.*, the sharer of the rooms—of Hody, he certainly was in good company, and likely to make progress.

At all events, in 1682 he took the world by surprise with his translation of Lucretius' "De Rerum Natura"; he is said to have done the work fifty lines at a time, walking in the Parks, and then afterwards revising the rough draft in his rooms. The book was so successful that a new edition was called for next year, to which were prefixed a number of curious and interesting verses by the leading writers of the day. No less a person than the Poet Laureate, John Dryden, led the way, and very sonorous and sensible (to say no more) his lines are. Four of them towards the end seem almost to anticipate Creech's sad fate, and warn him against it:

> "For this in Wadham's peaceful halls reside,
> Books be thy pleasure, to do well thy pride—
> Quit not for public cares thy college life,
> Nor take that sort of settlement, a wife."

Evelyn follows with some verses which in idea have an extraordinary resemblance to Keats' finest sonnet, that on Chapman's Homer; but there is all the difference between the work of ingenious culture and the inspiration of genius. Thomas Otway, Edmund Waller, and Nahum Tate are also represented.

But the most interesting verses from the point of view of college history are those of the notorious Mrs. Aphra Behn, who is kind enough to sing of Wadham as follows:

> "Hail, sacred Wadham, whom the Muses grace,
> And from the rest of all the reverend pile
> Of sacred palaces, designed thy space,
> Where they in soft retreat might dwell,
> They blest thy fabric, and they said
> We thee our sacred nursery ordain."

The poets who win this high praise for Wadham are "the learned Thyrsis," who has been already mentioned as Sprat (p. 77), afterwards the Bishop of Rochester, "Strephon the Great," a wretched poetaster of fashion named Sir Carr Scroop, who was about ten years senior to Creech, and who versified Ovid, and now "young Daphnis"—*i.e.*, Creech—who is bidden to prove

> "Still happy in thy poetry and love."

Creech's translation is a fine performance, especially for a young man of twenty-one; but the minor poets of our own day may well envy their predecessors in the seventeenth century, who found reputation so much easier to win. Creech gained something else more solid than mere praise, for he was in 1683 elected fellow of

All Souls', where the old system of corrupt resignations had been just abolished, and election by merit restored. He resided in Oxford for some time longer, and was known as a good scholar; he wrote various other translations, of which the chief was that of Manilius, published posthumously in 1700. He also edited the text of Lucretius, and has the honour of winning praise from Monro for his "clearness and brevity," though he is justly condemned for his "arrogant and supercilious temper." He finally accepted the All Souls living of Welwyn in Herts, but committed suicide next year (1700), being still under forty. There seems some reason for thinking that he was really out of his mind, although the immediate causes of his act were the pressure of poverty and an unhappy love affair. A portrait of him hangs in the college hall, in which, in spite of the full wig, it is still possible to trace the fine features and nervous excitable nature of the poet.

Another scholar who was working in Oxford during most of this period was Antony Wood's friend Nicholas Lloyd (or Floyd); he had been elected scholar from Winchester in the time of Wilkins, and resided till 1670, in which year he brought out a formidable "Dictionarium Historicum Geographicum et Poeticum," based on that of Stephens; it was so successful that it went into a second edition in 1686. Lloyd added to the College collection of bibles a copy of Cranmer's Great Bible. He was presented by his friend Bishop Blandford to the living of Newington, at that time a country village near London. His feeling towards the capital is expressed by him in Greek:

εὐδαίμων γε Κόρινθος, ἐγὼ δ' εἴην Τεγεάτης.

In eminent churchmen during this period Wadham was not rich; three future bishops, however, were admitted in Warden Ironside's time, two of them, Willis and Baker, being of the ordinary Whig type, whose misdeeds and shortcomings fill so much space in the diary of Hearne. The third, Thomas Lyndesay, who belongs to a generation earlier (1672) than the other two, resided in Oxford some twenty years, filling all the college offices in turn. He then went to Ireland, and rose rapidly from being Dean of St. Patrick's to the post of Archbishop of Armagh; he was Primate of Ireland for ten years till his death in 1724. He was a liberal benefactor of his cathedral, and may perhaps be rememembered also as one of the friends of Dean Swift. Hearne * admits that he had ability, but says he was a man "of loose life," and "of little or no learning." It is not necessary to construe too literally Hearne's censures on the leading churchmen of his day.†

Although he never attained to a bishopric, Henry Godolphin, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, may claim a mention. His memory ought to be cherished at Eton, of which he was Provost and a liberal benefactor; but Wadham will remember to his discredit that he did his best to hinder Wren's plans in the rebuilding of St. Paul's. He should have sympathised with the architect, as they both had passed from Wadham to a fellowship

* Hearne, O. H. S. i. 187; ii. 49.

† There is an amusing account in Wood's "Life," ii. 547, of the opposition led by Lyndesay to the degree of a certain Pembroke man, Nicholls, in 1681. The Vice-Chancellor finally threatened to "send him to the Castle if he dared to speak one word more in that business." The whole story admirably illustrates the complexity of the old degree ceremonies.

at All Souls'. He was one of six brothers, of whom the eldest, Sidney, was the great Whig financier, and friend of Marlborough. Sidney himself was not at the University, but two more of his brothers were at Wadham. Of these Charles was deemed in his day a person of sufficient eminence to obtain a place in Westminster Abbey; he had been for many years a prominent civil servant as commissioner of customs. The standard of qualification for burial in the Abbey was not high in the eighteenth century, at all events for the brother of a Lord High Treasurer, but Charles Godolphin may claim a place in the memory of Wadham men as a liberal benefactor to the library; to him is due the fact that Wadham is especially rich in Spanish books, for he inherited the library of a distant relative, Sir William Godolphin, for many years ambassador in Spain, and presented at least a considerable part of it to the college.*

It is time to turn from these obscure and forgotten worthies to the part which the college played in the great events of the time; of these three must be mentioned, the Popish Plot and all the political troubles connected with the Exclusion Bill, the rebellion of Monmouth, and, most important of all, James II.'s

* A certain number of Spanish MSS. came with the books; on these a report has been presented to the Spanish Academy of History by my old pupil, Mr. H. Butler Clarke, now Fellow of St. John's. In our own day (1880) the presence of The Godolphin books at Wadham was one reason why the college received the bequest of the Wiffen collection of Spanish books; this last is especially rich in Spanish Reformation theology, and as might be expected, thanks to the Inquisition, many of the books in it are at any rate very rare, if not valuable.

attack on Magdalen College and the Church of England.

In regard to the first of these, the college seems to have on the whole inclined to the Whig side; the Warden, as has been seen, was somewhat Latitudinarian in his views, and the influence of John Lord Lovelace, who had an estate at Woodstock, and was powerful in the city of Oxford, was throughout strongly on the same side. This peer, to gain favour with the citizens, organised races on Port Meadow, to which he brought the Duke of Monmouth, and had the notorious "Dr." Oates to preach before him at Woodstock.*

A much more interesting and creditable person is John Pratt, who was admitted as scholar in 1674; he has the honour of coming next to John Locke in the list of seven prominent Whigs given by Wood early in 1679; at the end of the next year he openly ventured to drink "confusion to the Duke of York" at Fedge's "coffey-house," but could find no one to pledge him. He took a leading part also in encouraging petitions to Parliament, and was present at the banquet to the Duke of Monmouth given by the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford in September 1680; he is there spoken of as "Pratt of the Green Ribbon Club."† Fortunately for Pratt's prospects at the bar, the Revolution was more successful than the Exclusion Bill; he rose stage by stage till finally he was made Lord Chief Justice (1718), and in that office earns from Lord Campbell the double-edged praise that, unlike his predecessors, he is "unredeemed from insipidity by the commission of a single

* Wood, "Life," ii. 496, 495.
† *Ibid.* ii. 431, 497; iii. 508.

great crime." He was, at all events, a sound lawyer, and may claim some remembrance as being the father of the great Lord Camden. His portrait, which shows him in his robes as sergeant-at-law, is that of a solid, sensible-looking man, perhaps, it might be said, of a typical Whig. By a curious chance it hangs almost under that of his senior contemporary, Thomas Sprat (see p. 77), who differed from him so little in name and so much in principles. Sprat was a strong supporter of the Duke of York, and preached a sermon before the House of Commons, when they met at Oxford in March 1681, which so displeased them that he was ostentatiously omitted from the vote of thanks: he was

"Above the thanks of the mad Senate-House,"

to quote Mrs. Behn once more.

When, however, Monmouth rose in open rebellion in 1685, Oxford was united against him; constitutional agitation was one thing, armed force quite another. Wadham, Lincoln, and Trinity joined to form one of the companies of loyal volunteers which mustered for the King; they trained in Trinity Grove, having Philip Bertie of that college, nephew of the Earl of Abingdon, as their captain, and William Latton, fellow of Wadham, as lieutenant; one of the drummers also was a Wadham commoner. Their only service was a review in Christ Church meadow, where the officers were very fine, with "scarlet coats and white feathers in their hats": apparently it was only the horse soldiers who had the honour of dining with the Earl of Abingdon

and "came home well fuz'd."* But in the West many of the old members of Wadham were seeing real service for the King, among whom Wadham Strangewayes, son of the Sir Giles who has been already mentioned (p. 54), fell at the hands of the rebels early in the campaign; he was treacherously surprised at Bridport.

The victory over Monmouth only encouraged James II. in his headstrong attacks on the religion and the liberties of his subjects. The next great struggle was already casting its shadows before; on the very Sunday (July 26) after the University troops had dispersed, a sermon was preached in St. Mary's at the thanksgiving service, which savoured so "strongly of Popery" that the Warden of Wadham delated it to the Vice-Chancellor, and the preacher, Henry Bois of University College, was compelled to recant; yet the King was foolish enough to provoke Oxford opinion by sending for him and telling him that he was "very well pleased with the discourse," and that it was "ingenious and well penned." He shortly afterwards gave Bois, who became an open Romanist, a dispensation under seal to protect him.† No amount of warnings could convince James II., who was a true Stuart, that his subjects attached at least as much importance to their consciences as he himself did; and so he finally committed his crowning act of folly in April 1687, by ordering the fellows of Magdalen to violate their statutes, and elect as president a person at once unqualified and most unsuitable.

It is not the place here to tell the story how the fellows and the demies of Magdalen resisted all efforts

* Wood, "Life," iii. 149 *seq.*

† *Ibid.* 153; 165; 184.

to wheedle or to coerce them into doing what they held not to be right, how they suffered the loss of everything rather than violate their sworn obligations; this story, one of the most glorious in the history of Oxford, belongs to another volume of the college series. But it is worth while mentioning here that not the least famous of the fellows expelled, Maynard, was an old Wadham man, while two of those who basely submitted to receive fellowships from King James, Genefar, a demy, and Haslewood, one of the chaplains, had obtained their posts at Magdalen from our college.

Such details are perhaps merely antiquarian; but the conduct of the Warden, who became Vice-Chancellor in the middle of the troubles, is an important part of Oxford history. King James himself came down in September to coerce the unruly fellows of Magdalen, and was entertained by the University with a grand banquet in the Bodleian. After this was over, the King had a private conversation with the Vice-Chancellor, of which a report—probably written by Ironside himself—remains among the Magdalen MSS.

The King began by saying that the clergy of the Church of England lacked humility; they were really "wolves in sheep's clothing," and his only real enemies; Ironside replied by pointing out that His Majesty might "please to remember that none of them were exclusioners." The King then proceeded to attack Magdalen especially, for "denying his mandate," but Ironside made the obvious answer that, absolute as Kings were, "while our statutes do continue, we cannot go against them." The King then said, "your eye is evil, because mine is good"; they objected to his indul-

gence to tender consciences. Here Ironside claims to have silenced the King by a reference to the ill effects of toleration; but his answer seems less convincing than he says it proved to James. The King then shifted the subject, and complained of the attacks on his religion; but on this point the retort was ready that the Anglicans were never the aggressors, but were bound to answer when attacked. "Everything that hath or shall come from that press," said Ironside, referring to Obadiah Walker's Roman propaganda, "hath or will receive an answer from hence, and perhaps with more sharpness than will be acceptable; but in this case the aggressor must thank himself."* The King had the good sense not to be offended by the Vice-Chancellor's plain speaking, and commended him afterwards as "an honest, blunt man"; but he was not wise enough to take the warning.

When the King had left Oxford, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners proceeded to expel the President and fellows. Ironside showed his opinion clearly of their proceedings by declining to partake of their hospitality; he did "not like, with Colonel Kirk," he grimly observed, "to dine under the gallows." As Vice-Chancellor also he declined to recognise the intruded fellows; when St. Mark's Day † came round, he bluntly told the Vice-President of Magdalen: "We shall not be there (*i.e.*, at Magdalen) to hear eulogies on the Virgin Mary;" and he appointed one of his own fellows, Charles Whiting,

* The conversation is printed in full in Bloxam's Magdalen College and James II. (O. H. S.), p. 90, 92.

† The University sermon on St. Mark's Day is still preached a Magdalen College, not at St. Mary's Church.

to preach at St. Mary's.* And on resigning office in 1689, when the victory had been won, he showed his own views very clearly by congratulating his successor, "*non habebis monstra illa horrenda communiter vocata 'quo warrantoes,' non habebis Obadiatus.*" † But, though a partisan, Ironside was severe on disorder, even among his own partisans; he published a severe (and most amusing) decree against the "humming" with which the Commissioners of King James were greeted; he says "*monemus omnes, quotquot sunt scholares, ut ab omnibus illiberalibus dicteriis, sannis, pedum supplosione, male feriatorum et turbinum cachinno screatu, clamore, et murmure ἀπροσδιονύσῳ, penitus abstineant.*" Vice-cancellarial edicts have become much more colourless since they have appeared in English.

So, too, when the demies of Magdalen took the law into their own hands, "sate with their hats cocked in defiance of the new M.A.s," and drank confusion to the Pope, the Vice-Chancellor proceeded to vigorous action. One of the offenders was expelled the University, and the others were fined. ‡ It is an honour to Oxford and to Wadham that, at this great crisis of the national history, Oxford's highest resident officer was one who was not afraid to speak the truth before Kings, but who yet vigorously repressed disorder, even when justifying itself by a good cause.

The Revolution speedily brought Ironside a bishopric, that of Bristol, from which he was soon advanced to Hereford; but the triumph of his Whig principles in Oxford belongs to the next chapter.

* Wood, "Life," iii. 265. † *Ibid.* iii. 311.
‡ *Ibid.* 256.

Before ending this one, however, it is necessary to give one or two details as to undergraduates unknown to fame, and to continue the history of the college fabric during this period.

There is a pathetic interest attached to the presentation to Wadham of the advowson of Wadhurst, in Sussex, which was long the most prized piece of clerical patronage in the hands of the society; it was bequeathed to the college in 1668 by Thomas Aynscombe, in recognition of the kindness shown to his son, who died at Wadham two years before. The college, however, did not present till 1714, and so long-lived have been the rectors of Wadhurst that there have been only seven Wadham men there in almost 200 years. The college has now unfortunately parted with the patronage.*

The personal details in this chapter may be concluded with a contemporary letter to a Wadham undergraduate, George Kemeys, from his sister, bearing date June 1674; like Lady Gower's letter of sixteen years previous, it was found in a college room, and shows that there were many points of resemblance between the seventeenth-century undergraduate and his modern representatives. As the letter is short, it may be quoted in full:

* Oxford, and perhaps Wadham especially, seem to have been very unhealthy at this period. The pages of Wood's "Life" are full of references to outbreaks of fever and of smallpox. Lovers of the marvellous too may like to read ("Life," ii. 77, 8) how two members of Wadham were struck by lightning when boating at Medley; one was killed outright, while the other was struck out of the boat and "stuck fast in the mud (with his feet downwards and his upper parts above water) like a post, not able to help himself out." Fortunately help was at hand, he was rescued, and in the end was none the worse for his escape. His name was William Herman.

"(Dear) Brother: This day I received yours of the 11th instant; your long silence made us think that you would quite forget us, were it not for the quarter day. Your brother intends to travel, and therefore desires to see you here if it may be with your convenience: in order thereto Mr. Evans has £10 and your mare: so I hope to see you suddenly. My Mother's blessing to you. My brother, Nancy, and my love to you.

"I am,

"Your affectionate sister,

"Mary Kemeys."

The Nancy and the Mary of this letter are the "Martha and Mary," whose care soothed the declining years of Bishop Ken at Naish. It is interesting to note that, though, according to modern notions, the Long was just beginning, there was no expectation of seeing young Kemeys at home in Wales, had he not been thus specially summoned. He has left another memorial of himself at Wadham in a fine porringer, bearing date 1671, which has a lid with three unicorns' heads.

The fabric of the college during this period was seriously damaged by the storm of February 18, 1662; three of the chimney stacks on the West side were blown down, and "falling inward, and beating into the chambers, would have killed several scholars, if not accidentally then at prayers."* More permanent changes were the fitting up of the common room and the flooring of the chapel with black and white marble. As to the former the College has no record, but its date can be inferred almost with certainty. The "room over the

* Wood "Life," i. 4 2.

buttery" was originally set apart as a busary, but its present wall-panelling obviously dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century; the richly carved fireplace has been attributed, though without any reason, and no doubt quite wrongly, to Grinling Gibbons. It is difficult to conceive that the Fellows of Wadham should have fitted up the room so elaborately for any other purpose than to serve as a common room for themselves and for the gentleman-commoners; and we know that about the same time other colleges were obtaining the same luxury; the first recorded as having a "common room" is Merton College in 1661.* Probability, therefore, and artistic style join in fixing the establishment of the common room in this period; a further confirmation is the insertion of the portrait of Wilkins in the panelling over the fireplace, which seems contemporary with the rest of the work, but which would not have been natural at any time after 1690. The beauty of the room and some of the details above referred to are well shown in the accompanying picture (plate v.); but it is impossible in this to do justice to the view from the window, which used to be thought one of the most beautiful in Oxford. Even now, though the building of Manchester College has partially spoiled it, it remains charming, with the quiet nook of garden in the foreground, and Headington Hill in the distance.

The changes in the chapel can be dated with more certainty; in 1669 it was ordered that fellow commoners should pay £8 each on admission, instead of giving plate, and that this money should be used for the "public

* It should be added, however, that there is no mention at Wadham of the common room till 1724.

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE SENIOR COMMON ROOM

advantages of the college"—*i.e.*, the library and the chapel; and in 1673 a charge of 6*d.* a head was put on all but servitors "for cleansing the marble in chapel and ordering the clock." So early had the college discovered the principle that "the undergraduate pays for all." Mr. Jackson therefore fixes the paving of the chapel about 1670, and dates the cedar altar rails from the same time.* Finally, when he resigned the Wardenship, Ironside added the fine silver-gilt dish, which bears his name, to the already existing communion plate; it is still used for the collection of alms.

Wadham during this period, as always, was one of the poor colleges in the University; it is rated with Balliol, University, Pembroke, and Jesus in 1682† at but £100, while the colleges altogether are rated at £7730, Christ Church of course being first with a rating of £2000. But it was always reckoned as one of the show places, and was exhibited to the various royal and noble persons —*e.g.*, the Prince of Orange, the Ambassador of Morocco, and others—who visited the University. How hard these distinguished visitors were worked we may see from the visit of the first named,‡ who started with his retinue from Christ Church about ten in the morning, in coaches borrowed from some of the heads of houses, and saw the Physic Garden and seven colleges, hearing six speeches on the way, before eleven: then he went to prayers in the Cathedral, and after these was conducted by the Doctors "in scarlet" to the

* P. 158. His reasons seem conclusive against Wood's date 1677, 8.

† Wood, "Life," ii. 565.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. 206, *seq.*

Bodleian, where he had another speech. Then he was led on to the Sheldonian, where he was made a D.C.L., and presented with the works of King Charles I., "richly bound and gilt"; degrees were also conferred on several members of his train. Then followed disputations, and then the Prince adjourned to dinner at St. John's, escaping an entertainment in the Music School, through the forgetfulness of the Vice-Chancellor. At St. John's, besides his dinner, he had another speech, and then at five he came across by the back way to Wadham, where he had a speech, and so on to New College, where he had not only a speech, but a service. He then "went out the back way, thinking to call at Queen's College, but the Fellows being at supper, and the gates shut" (it was then about six), he went straight to Christ Church. We are not surprised to hear that he had a post that night from London, requiring his immediate presence in Town. Our ancestors had a truly wonderful appetite for speeches and shows.

CHAPTER VIII

WADHAM UNDER WARDEN DUNSTER

In 1670 William of Orange was in Oxford as a mere visitor; in 1688 the Congregation of the University passed an address of welcome to him as the "most honourable and invincible prince," who had come, at the invitation of all parties, to be the champion of English liberties; but, even before the first struggle for these was over, division of feeling began to arise among those who had united to oppose James, and throughout the next generation, party quarrels burned with as great fury as ever.

Oxford in this, as in other respects, reproduced in her own small world the prevailing feelings of the nation generally. Although comparatively few of her sons put themselves outside the pale of the ordinary political and religious life of England, as Jacobites or Non-jurors, yet there was a minority who did this, a minority, too, which contained some of the members of the University most eminent for learning and piety. And of those in Oxford who took the oaths, and submitted to the established order of things in Church and State, a majority did so with great unwillingness, and with much discontent at the new principles introduced into government. Parliamentary supremacy and Toleration

had formed no part of Oxford's creed, since Laud had set his mark upon her, and there was great bitterness at the change of affairs which had forced these on the nation and on the Universities. On the other hand, the old Latitudinarian party of Wilkins and his friends found their ranks largely recruited from among the men who wished to stand well with the government of the day; there were many in Oxford who could have said with the Vicar of Bray:

> "Old principles I did revoke
> Set conscience at a distance;
> Passive obedience was a joke,
> A jest was non-resistance."

During this period of division in Oxford, Wadham was undoubtedly a Whig College; it shared this honour (or dishonour) with All Souls', Exeter, and Merton. A permanent memorial of this phase of opinion is furnished by the portraits of William III. and George I. which hang in the college hall; no other college certainly has both these kings among its pictures, nor do I know of any that has even one of them. Neither of these sovereigns, to put it mildly, did much for Oxford or her colleges, nor indeed had they any reason to do so. It must be confessed, however, that Wadham loyalty to the Protestant succession was easily satisfied; the picture of George I., though one of the largest, is certainly the worst in the Hall; perhaps this is fitting for a king who was wont to say that he cared neither for "bainting nor for boetry."

One result of Wadham Whiggism is that it suffers in the pages of the scholar who is the Oxford annalist for

most of this period, Thomas Hearne; his diary covers the years from 1705 to 1735. Hearne combines the acerbity, which too often marks the neglected researcher, with the fury of a partisan; he is even more bitter than Antony Wood, for, while the great antiquarian of Charles II.'s reign was only inconvenienced by the suspicion that he was a Romanist, Hearne lost both place and pay in Oxford because of his views as a Jacobite. Hence, amusing and racy as Hearne is, and great as are the debts which English History owes to him as an editor and researcher, yet it would be most unfair to his opponents to take him as at all a trustworthy witness to character, or even to facts. With Hearne "rascal and rogue" are the equivalents of "Whig," while every Tory is *ipso facto* an "honest" man.

It is especially necessary to bear this in mind in estimating the character of Warden Dunster, who presided over Wadham for thirty years after the Revolution. Hearne describes him as "one of the violentest Whigs and most rascally Low Churchmen of the age"; he accuses him of simony, of pluralities, of gross neglect of duty, and of gluttony. He quotes almost unquotable epigrams, which "honest" gentlemen of Christ Church wrote on the Warden and his Whig friends; and he gloats over the humiliation put upon Dunster and other Whig Heads of houses in1706, when they visited Woodstock to congratulate the Duchess of Marlborough on her husband's victories, and were refused not only entertainment, but even admittance.* But, making all allowance for Hearne's exaggeration, there are certain indisputable

* Hearne, ii. 191; ii. 109; ii. 167.

facts which tell heavily against Dunster. It may easily be accident that not a single person who rose to any eminence was admitted during the last ten years of his reign, it might almost be said during the last fifteen. But certainly it was his fault that all entries in the college register, even of the names of foundationers, cease in 1694, and are not resumed again in any form till the time of Warden Baker, his successor; even more culpable is the complete cessation of entries in the convention book. And if, as seems probable, the chapel windows which were smashed by a great storm in January 1690,* were not properly repaired till 1742, this certainly proves there was something very much amiss in the government of the college. It is perhaps always somewhat fanciful to read characters in the features of a picture, but certainly those of Warden Dunster, in his picture in hall, seems to have something sly and mean, though they are well cut and in some ways even handsome. Hearne's judgment on him is also partially confirmed by the fact that though to be a strong party man was in those days one of the safest paths to a bishopric, he, unlike his three predecessors and his successor, failed to attain this honour.

With Dunster it is natural to couple his junior contemporary, Willis, another object of Hearne's detestation. He says that Willis, "being improved in impudence and all arts of insinuation, being a man of true Revolution principles, to the surprise of all good men, attained the Deanery of Lincoln;" his published sermons show that he is "hardly fit to be a country curate or schoolmaster." His career is certainly that of

* Wood, "Life," iii. 321.

a typical Whig bishop; having been elected from Wadham to All Souls, he became Chaplain to King William in Flanders, tutor (under Gilbert Burnet) of the Duke of Gloucester, the son of Queen Anne, and finally Bishop of Gloucester in 1714. From this poor see he was gradually promoted till he reached the "deeper manger" of Winchester, which he enjoyed eleven years. It is characteristic of his revolutionary principles that he was content to be a mere Lambeth D.D., and never donned the scarlet and black of his own Alma Mater.

Whether Warden Dunster himself and Bishop Willis represented the worst side of Whiggism or not, there is no doubt that during Dunster's reign Wadham was brought into unfortunate notoriety by the extravagances of free thinking among its members. William Freeke had ceased to reside regularly in 1679, but he was still connected with Oxford, and was known to Hearne as a "whimsical" man; in 1694 he was convicted of blasphemy for a tract called a "Brief and Clear Confutation of the Doctrine of the Trinity," fined £500, and forced to make a public recantation.* If it is not fair to hold Wadham responsible for his strange views, yet the college can hardly escape blame for the extraordinary folly of a certain George Bear, who was refused his degree in 1709 for blasphemy; "he had asserted that the birth of King William was a greater miracle than the birth of our Saviour," and had said other foolish things, which he refused to apologise for or withdraw. A year's waiting for his B.A. soon

* It ought to be recorded to Freeke's credit, however, that he was a considerable benefactor to the Bodleian coin collection.

brought him to a less insulting frame of mind, and he publicly recanted in the Apodyterium before the Vice Chancellor and Proctors. Hearne especially draws attention to the fact that he had been the pupil at Wadham of a certain "Republican" White. Such men as Bear, who adopt extreme views without thinking, for the sake of display, are always likely to be found in a college of "advanced" opinions.

It is pleasant to turn to a brighter side of the College life; at no other period has classical soholarship been so well represented at Wadham, as it was by the brilliant group who were in residence at the beginning of Warden Dunster's long reign. Creech has been already mentioned, but more famous as a scholar was his contemporary and friend Humphrey Hody, who became a Fellow in 1685, and Regius Professor of Greek in 1698. He was undoubtedly the leading scholar on the Whig side in Oxford during this troubled period, and Hearne asserts that he owed his professorship to the influence of the Latitudinarian Bishop of Salisbury, the well-known Gilbert Burnet; but this connection was unfortunate for real scholarship, as the leaders of his party called Hody away from his proper work to engage in an unprofitable controversy on schism with the Non-juror Dodwell, and to take part in the quarrel about the powers of the two Houses of Convocation. Even here he seems never to have been in a hurry to fight; his own principle was: "I hate everlasting wrangle, and an adversary that cavils I think deserves a reply as little as one that rails."* And his method of controversy was that of the scholar; he attacked the

* Preface to case of "Sees Vacant," 1693

English Non-jurors by editing a Greek treatise on schism—attributed to Nicephorus—from one of the Barocci MSS. in the Bodleian, and he wrote a history of Convocation based largely on the MSS. in the Lambeth Library.*

His real tastes were not for controversy; they had been shown by him when, as a young man of only twenty-three, he published a masterly dissertation on the LXX. Version, showing that the received account of its origin, that of Aristeas, was a late forgery and of no historical value. This brought him into collision with the great Dutch scholar, Isaac Voss, who was furious that an "English stripling" ventured to refute a view which he himself had adopted on a subject that he considered especially his own. But the world has agreed with the young Englishman, though Hody did not himself trouble to reply till, in 1705, he published his great work on the Versions of the Bible,† which remained a standard book down to our own day. In the preface he compares his critic and himself to Goliath and David, though he treats Voss with the greatest courtesy.

Hody's early death at the age of forty-seven‡ was a great loss to English scholarship; he was at the time engaged on a course of lectures on the Greeks of the Revival of Learning, Bessarion, Theodore of Gaza, and others, which were only published some thirty years after his death (1742). Hearne says of him that he

* He was chaplain to two archbishops in succession, Tillotson and Tenison, as can still be read in his epitaph in the college ante-chapel.

† The library still has the copy which he presented.

‡ Hearne, i. 323, wrongly says he was forty-five.

was "a man of great industry, good natural parts and a great memory, but had but little judgment; however, he was very useful"*—a criticism which applies in every point to himself.

Hody has a special claim on the gratitude of Wadham men, apart from the lustre which he threw on their college by his life and work; he left to it the reversion of most of his property, amounting to more than £100 a year, for the establishment of ten exhibitions, five for Greek and five for Hebrew. The Greek ones were, down to our own day, prizes for the best scholars in College; the Hebrew ones were the beginning of that special connection with Oriental studies which has been, for the last two centuries, one of the main features of Wadham. The exhibitioners were to be yearly examined by the Regius Professors of Greek and of Hebrew, and "to be turned out if found negligent."† The professors were to have a dinner with the exhibitioners, and ten shillings a-piece every time. Hearne says there was a rumour that Wadham was going to refuse the benefaction, because "they found they should be losers by it," and "upon account of trouble;" if such unworthy views were ever mooted, they were at once overruled. By the arrangements of the last Commission, the Hody exhibitions have been changed into five scholarships, three for Greek and two for Hebrew.

* Hearne, i. 318.

† Even during the dark times of the eighteenth century, this oversight remained a reality; there are at any rate frequent instances of forfeiture by Hody exhibitioners for failing to present themselves for examination.

Hody further left to the College Library such of his books as the Bodleian did not want.* His widow also presented his portrait by Thomas Forster, a very charming picture; it represents a singularly handsome man, with a face of almost feminine delicacy, but redeemed from weakness by the high forehead and the clear-cut features.

Among Hody's contemporaries at Wadham was another scholar in his time of European reputation, William Nicholls, who afterwards became Fellow of Merton. He was a considerable liturgiologist, and his "Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae" (1707) was especially written to inform Continental scholars as to the formularies of the English Church; it attracted at the time much attention in learned circles throughout Europe.

With Hody's name at Wadham is linked that of a much greater man, the prince of all English scholars, Richard Bentley. His glory belongs to the sister University, but Wadham may well claim some credit for the fact that, when the great Cambridge Hellenist had to choose a College at Oxford for himself and for his pupil, James Stillingfleet,† his choice fell on their foundation. His reason seems to have been the proximity of the Bodleian, and perhaps also the fact that Wadham was the college of Hody and of Bishop Lloyd (*cf.* p. 81), who was at this time encouraging,

* I fear that he did not put his name in his books. At all events I have been unable to find it in any of our numerous Oriental books.

† Young Stillingfleet was the son of Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, perhaps the greatest theologian of the Whig party at the time. His son James became Dean of Worcester. There were Stillingfleets at Wadham for three generations; they were a Dorset family.

and to some extent directing, Bentley's studies. Bentley resided at Wadham for about a year, during which time he was joint tutor with Hody to young Stillingfleet, and seems to have become very intimate with him. Their friendship, however, received some shock from a difference of opinion, although it was only a difference as to a single letter. Hody was editing the history of John Malela, his prolegomena to which contained original points of some importance. Bentley was asked to contribute, and wrote his famous letter to Mill, which once and for all put him in the front rank of Greek scholars. Unfortunately, he set himself to prove, at the end of the letter, that the author's name was not Malela but Malelas, a view which Hody refused to adopt, and to which he replied in an appendix. The world of scholars since has, of course, agreed with Bentley, but it would have saved the great Cambridge man much trouble if he had taken to heart the rebuke implied in the prayer with which Hody concludes his answer:—

"*Faxit numen*

ut vel aeterno ego silentio inter non scribentes delitescam, vel semper, ut virum ingenuum, liberalis ac generosae educationis veraeque Philosophiae studiosum decet scribam; veritatis unicae indagator, absque omni styli acerbitate, mitis, urbanus, candidus, ad id quod indecens est non pronus ut nec movendus, nugarum denique contemptor."

The book appeared in 1691, when Bentley had left Wadham nearly a year. The friendship between him and Hody, as has been said above, was cooled, but the Oxford Greek Professor had too much good sense to

join in the furious attack which the scholars of Christ Church made on Bentley in 1698, an attack which has been rendered immortal by his Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, the most crushing reply in the history of scholarship.

Another Wadham scholar of a very different kind must be mentioned, who succeeded Hody as Regius Professor of Greek, Thomas Mills; he came up in the same year (1689) that Bentley joined the College. Mills is Hearne's special aversion; he is "a poor pretender to learning," and is of an unsettled temper with "a worm in his head" which prevents him from sticking to anything.* Hearne's note on his appointment as professor is characteristic; he calls him the "rhapsodist," and then goes on, "The Court could not have put a greater affront upon us than pitching upon a person void of integrity, parts, or learning, he not understanding the rudiments of the Greek Tongue."†

We need not take all this too literally; Hearne himself records that Mills' edition of St. Cyril was a work of merit,‡ though he claims that he himself made the indexes, and says that the quotations were all borrowed from Suicer's Thesaurus§—a charge which has been brought against at least one work of English theological learning in our own day. Mills also seems to have made a vigorous Bishop when he was appointed to the see of Waterford in 1708.

* Hearne, O. H. S. i. 314; 105.

† *Ibid.* i. 326.

‡ *Ibid.* iii. 113.

§ *Ibid.* i. 13. In our day public opinion would praise Mills for an act which Hearne (i. 95) records with implied contempt, his attempt to convert the famous actress, "Bracegirdle the Brown" to a more respectable life. The attempt was a failure.

But Wadham was not entirely Whig even under Dunster. Nicholas Whalley, who was in residence as Fellow for the first fifteen years of the century, wins Hearne's commendation for a sermon preached at St. Mary's, on January 30, 1710, on the text "Hazael said, 'But what, is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?'" (2 Kings viii. 13.) The preacher compared Hazael to the Parliamentarian leaders in 1641, as instances of the progress of sin; and finally, by a very forced transition, brought his argument round to "Mr. Hoadley and his deposing doctrine";* but Hearne fears that Whalley is a wolf in sheep's clothing, for he is "a vain, empty, proud fellow," whose High Church principles seem to have been merely a matter of talking in coffee-houses and common-rooms, where he "smokes his pipe and casts a scornful look," "tucks up his gown and talks against Hoadley."†

A more "honest" man, however, was Joseph Trapp,‡ who became Fellow in 1703. It is no wonder that

* Hearne, ii. 339.

† *Ibid.* iii. 121.

‡ There were no doubt many other High Churchmen in Wadham whose names have been forgotten. One of these, John Ballam, who matriculated in 1692, presented the Library with a fine folio containing an account of the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, in which he has put an inscription saying that he gives this, "*collegii optime de se meriti simul et amici inter opprobria patientis, inter pericula magnanimi, inter triumphos modesti et haud pessime de Patria meriti memor.*" We can imagine the pride of the country clergyman as he thus praised his old friend, and the disgust of the Whig Librarian-fellow who had to put the book on the shelves. It may be added that prosecutions for sermons "were in the air" all through this stormy period; another Wadham man, William Tilly, nearly had his Assize Sermon burned by the Whigs in Parliament because, preaching on Proverbs xxiv. 10, 12, he managed to turn

Hearne calls him an "ingenious, honest gentleman,"* for he was manager for Dr. Sacheverell in his trial, and dedicated his "Prælectiones Poeticæ" to Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke. Trapp was the first Oxford Professor of Poetry, and not the least famous occupant of that famous chair. The peroration of his last lecture, delivered in 1718, is still interesting; he describes, in words as appropriate to our own day as to his, the new "towers of the Muses" arising on every side, so numerous that an Oxford man returning to Oxford after a few months feels himself "almost a stranger," and then goes on to refer to the attack on the privileges of the University which the Whigs were even then threatening. It was that attack, in its concrete form of Pepper's troop of horse, which inspired the only lines of Trapp now remembered, the famous epigram against Cambridge:—

> "King George observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,
> To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
> How much that loyal body wanted learning."†

But Trapp was in his day a well-known poet, and is among the many who have essayed to translate Virgil; to modern judgment he seems to have failed a little

his discourse against Occasional Conformity (Hearne, i. 10, 70); but Tilly had migrated from Wadham to C. C. C., perhaps he did not like its Whig politics. It is noticeable that at least two other prominent High Churchmen of this time, Thomas Hart and Peter Waldo, had migrated from Wadham to other colleges.

* Elsewhere (iii. 56) however, he is "a silly, rash hot-headed fellow."

† Fairness to the sister University requires that I should quote at

worse even than most of his rivals. The college has a portrait of him, showing him as a solemn and judicious divine, with a face such as would be expected in a man who wrote (in 1739) a course of sermons against George Whitfield on the "folly of being righteous overmuch." These attracted so much attention that Cave, who was publishing an abridgment of them in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was stopped by a threat of prosecution for infringement of copyright.

It is natural to couple with Trapp another Wadham poet, junior to him by more than twenty years, who also translated Virgil, and who was thought by his contemporaries to have surpassed Dryden, Christopher Pitt. Even in our own day Conington thinks it worth while to mention his version; but beyond securing him a burial in the "Collections of the English Poets," it has done little for his fame. The honour of rearing even this small poet must be shared by Wadham with New College, to which Pitt migrated as scholar in 1719.

It is time to turn briefly to the lives of three or four Wadham men of this period, whose fame was won in a wider field than the academic one. Of these Thomas Wyndham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland (matriculated

least in a note the crushing reply improvised by Sir William Browne to Johnson, who had quoted Trapp's lines:

> "The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but force;
> With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs admit no force but argument."

If all the winners of the Cambridge verse prizes wrote half as brilliantly as did the founder of the medals, how much more witty the sister University would be.

1698), may be left to the next chapter, when his generous bequest fell in to the college. George, Lord Hastings (matriculated 1693), is Wadham's representative in Marlborough's ever-victorious army. Two more, William Lee and Arthur Onslow, must be noticed at rather greater length. The former matriculated in 1704, but his academic career was not brilliant in ordinary eyes; his contemporaries laughed to hear that he intended to go to the bar, but his tutor had the good luck or the prescience to foretell that he would be Lord Chief Justice of England; "for to plodding and perseverance nothing is impossible." Lee realised the prophesy in 1737, and though his fame suffers from comparison with that of his great predecessor, Lord Hardwicke, and of his still greater successor, Lord Mansfield,* yet he was an able and impartial judge. In these days of women's rights it may be remembered to his credit that in the famous case of "Bly v. Olive" he decided that a woman both might be a sexton and might vote for one. Lee was a good Whig, though, if we may trust Lord Campbell, he never gave any reason for being so except that "he came in with King William" (he was born in 1688). This humorous reason for his political principles is said to have been his sole joke. We can almost accept this statement of Lord Campbell's about a man who had so little sense of humour as to enter in his diary: "Six bushels of oats for four horses per week; hempseed good in their corn; walking them in the dewy grass in the morning, very good; for rheumatism elder tea. I married to Mrs. M. M." However, the lady was his second wife.

* There was a brief interval of two years between them.

Arthur Onslow (matriculated 1708) was distinguished in a wider field, for he was the greatest Speaker who ever ruled the House of Commons. He held the Chair from 1726 to 1761. His affection for his old college is well shown in the splendid service books which he presented to the chapel. His portrait hangs both in hall and in the common room.

At the beginning of the reign of Warden Dunster Wadham made a considerable addition to its fabric. There had always been since the foundation of the college a small building—not used for rooms—of timber and rough cast, on the site of the present No. IX. staircase.* This was now pulled down, and the present building erected (1693-4).† Tradition attributes the design to Sir Christopher Wren, but there is no need to do the great man's memory the injustice of accepting this as true. It seems to have been intended to erect a corresponding block at the North-West corner of the college—possibly (as Mr. Jackson suggests) as a lodging for the Warden; but this, fortunately, was never carried out.

The college, too, at this time, received its finest piece of plate—the great loving cup given by J. S. Moore in 1704,‡ and one of its best known art-treasures.§ It had given lodging for some time to a Dutch painter—

* It is shown in Loggan's print (1675), which is reproduced at the beginning of this book.

† Wood, "Colleges and Halls," p. 597, gives the date. The corresponding block at the N.W. corner is shown in the Oxford Almanack of 1738.

‡ As befitted the donor of a punch bowl, he came from Jamaica.

§ The fine brass lectern in chapel was presented about the same time—1691—by Sir Thomas Leir.

Van Sonman—who had been employed in making copies of the portraits of the Founder and the Foundress. In gratitude for his entertainment he presented the Fellows with the portrait of a well-known old Oxford character, Mother George, which still hangs in the Senior Common Room. The only facts that are certain about her are that she died in July 1691, that she was very old, and that she had nothing to do with Wadham. When Locke saw her in 1682 she "possessed all her faculties perfect, and had as comely a face as ever he saw an old woman have." Locke does not say whether she threaded a needle for him without spectacles and received a gratuity in return; but this was her usual means of support. She claimed to be 108 at the time. According to this account, she would have been 118 when she died, while other versions make her 111 or 120; but all these figures are very untrustworthy, especially as Wood says that "when she came to be 100 she doubled every year." She had been married at thirty, and had fifteen children, and, according to one story, died of a fall which injured her back. Unless the painter has flattered her, she certainly was very handsome for her years, and her hands, which she carefully displays in the picture, and which are beautifully rendered, were especially fine. The fellows of Wadham seem to have been at a loss what to do with their present, and so hung it in the Senior Common Room, where it has remained ever since.*

* Wood, "Life," iii. 367 and note.

CHAPTER IX

THE DARK DAYS, 1719–1783

The reign of Warden Dunster had not been a bright period for Wadham, at least towards its close; but it was brighter than the two generations that succeeded it; the eighteenth century is an inglorious time for Oxford as a whole, and Wadham is not one of the brilliant spots which relieve the darkness.

The election of the successor of Warden Dunster led to a grave scandal, or at least to well-grounded suspicions of one; parties were very evenly divided, but Mr. Girdler, the High-Tory candidate, had received the promises of four, including the sub-warden, while his Whig opponent, Dr. Baker, had just as many; hence the "honest" candidate, as Hearne calls him, felt himself sure of election, for the sub-warden had a casting vote. The election took place in chapel, according to the statutes,* after Morning Prayer, and to the surprise of all, Baker had five votes, and Girdler only three; hence the former was elected. It was said that one of the fellows, whose name was known, had changed his vote, because he had received a purse of fifty guineas from Dr. Baker's

* The place of election was changed in 1872.

agent. Hearne, who is our authority for the whole story, gives the following epigram :*

" Upon one who was bribed while he was at prayers in the chapel, to vote contrary to his conscience.

" One hand and eye erect were close engaged
In pray'r, and holy war with heaven waged :
The other eye obliquely view'd the gold,
Which into t'other hand was shyly told.
What ! brib'd within the consecrated walls !
Strange magick power of gold ! to hush the calls
Of sacred promises, dissolve the ties
Of oaths ! Was this thy morning sacrifice ?
Transcendent knave ! who could have closer trod
Thy friend Iscariot's steps, who sold his God ?
Transcript of Judas ! go, refund thy pelf,
Then, like thy great exemplar, hang thyself :
For while thou liv'st, the world will be surprised
To meet a walking hell epitomiz'd."

Baker was only Warden five years, and was, in some respects, an improvement on Dunster, as the Convention Book was again kept up, and he also resumed the list of commoners of various kinds; curiously enough the Register of members of the foundation was not begun again till 1739, at which time that of non-foundationers in its turn becomes blank till 1806. But Baker failed to keep up the improvement he had begun, for in 1722 he received leave of absence from the college, as he was commanded to attend the King in Hanover as chaplain; in 1723 he was made Bishop of

* Bliss, " Reliq.," Hearne, p. 431.

Bangor, and was soon after translated to Norwich. He was a bishop of the bad type so common in the eighteenth century; he did not reside in his see, and he provided for his family out of his patronage. His full smug face and portly figure are still familiar from his picture in hall over the scholars' table.

The period opened badly, and it went on worse; a new feature appears in Wadham history in bankrupt fellows and defaulting bursars; Mr. Philip Speke was already in debt to the college when he was elected fellow in 1724; his debts were allowed to go on increasing, till at last, after endless resolutions about him, the college in 1746 had to take £100 in full release for a debt of £213. Still worse was the case of William Thomas, who was elected fellow in 1725; he died thirteen years later as bursar, owing the college over £1000. Part of this was the value for the trees of the Grove in the Back Quad, which were cut down in 1731 and 1732 (p. 146).

Much worse than mere debt was the career of Bennett Allen, who became fellow in 1760; he was in Holy Orders, and filled all the college offices, but he made himself notorious in London society by writing books with titles which will not bear quotation here. Finally, thanks to his libelling in the *Morning Post* the secretary of one of the American States, he was forced, much against his will, to fight a duel, and killed his man (1782); for this he was tried, but was found guilty of manslaughter only, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. His fellowship had already lapsed, the college rightly refused to help such a scamp in any way, and so he disappears from Wadham

history.* Even the highest post was no guarantee for good behaviour; in 1739 the Warden himself, Thistlethwayt, who had succeeded Baker in 1724, had to resign on a charge of serious misconduct.

It is no wonder then that during this period college admissions are few and undistinguished. They had averaged sixteen during the closing years of Dunster; the average sank to fifteen under Baker, to twelve under Thistlethwayt (1724–1739), to ten under Lisle (1739–1744), and to nine under Wyndham (1744–1777).† Non-residence of fellows became frequent, the duties of the college offices were continually discharged not by their actual holders but by deputies, and all things were weakly administered and disorderly.

It was natural that when college authority was of this kind, undergraduate conduct should follow suit; and the undergraduate of the day cuts but a poor figure in contemporary drama or fiction, where the life of the ordinary man can best be seen reflected. In the "Humours of Oxford,"‡ a play written by an undergraduate of Wadham, John Miller, which gained some success when acted in London in 1730, most of the

* By a curious irony his place as Sub-Warden was filled by Dr. John Wills, eminent alike as Warden and as benefactor to Wadham and the University (p. 153).

† In 1762 there were only two admissions.

‡ The play has some cleverness, and one character in it, Lady Science, may have given Sheridan the idea of his Mrs. Malaprop. Miller was not only a successful dramatic author, but also a vigorous High Churchman; unfortunately his political views hindered his advancement in the Church, and he had a gift for quarrelling; he actually brought Pope into one of his plays, under the name of "Alexander Taste," in the character of a deformed poet, who thinks all the ladies in love with him.

villains are University men, either undergraduates or dons; the undergraduate, Apeall, is described by the two heroes of the poem as a "true representative of Oxford scholars," "a fool by birth and rake by education," "a little abridgment of the follies of the age, and a compleat burlesque on wit and fashion." This is only one of countless instances which might be quoted to prove that too many of the students of the time had neither good morals nor good manners; but this unsatisfactory conclusion need not be dwelt on further.

The one man of vigour in college administration at this period seems to have been Samuel Lisle. He consented to take the Wardenship at a difficult crisis in 1739, and during his short period of office he restored the chapel to a decent state by repairing the great East window (1742); for this purpose subscriptions were obtained from old members of the college. Lisle also will be praised in these days of archæological research, for his energy in collecting Greek inscriptions, when chaplain to the Levant Company at Smyrna. But he only held the Wardenship till 1744, when he was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph. His portrait in hall shows him as an honest but somewhat heavy-looking divine.

There was nothing in the University regulations to supply the shortcomings of college administration; in fact where good work was being done in Oxford during this century, as at Christ Church, at Corpus Christi College, or at University under William Scott as tutor, it was due to the energy of individuals. The degree examinations, which had been reformed by Laud, and which vigorous Vice-Chancellors, such as Dr. Fell, had

tried to make a reality, had become a mere form. Vicesimus Knox, a not undistinguished scholar of the latter half of this century, who was a St. John's man, gives, in an essay published in 1782, the following account of the various ceremonies necessary for graduation.

In theory a candidate had to attend the public lectures of various professors, but these were by no means regularly given; in fact, if we may trust the letter printed in Amherst's Terræ Filius, which professes to come from Wadham College, no lecturer, except on poetry and music, had been seen in the Schools for three years before 1721; and when the writer and two others were lucky enough to catch the Regius Professor of Divinity, he was much surprised and disgusted to find he had an audience, and proceeded to address them "*Magistri vos non estis idonei auditores; præterea, juxta legis doctorem Boucher, tres non faciunt collegium. Valete.*" Hence it was requisite that the candidate for a degree should obtain a "dispensation" because he had not heard lectures, which had never been delivered for him to hear.

But there were also examinations; of these the first important one was commonly known as "doing generals," and was taken in or after the ninth term; two candidates performed it together. Their first duty was to procure "arguments," which were furnished on long slips of paper, handed down from generation to generation; with these they sat for two hours opposite each other in the schools, reading a novel, cutting their names, or otherwise profitably employed; if any official came in, a syllogism or two was read out, and the forms were then considered to have been complied with.

The final examination was called "answering under a Bachelor," and was of the same kind. "Every candidate was obliged to be examined in the whole circle of the sciences by three M.A.'s *of his own choice;*"* the examination was to last two hours. Here again things were made easy by "schemes" of questions, which contained all that would be asked, and which could easily be learned by heart. The translations too from Latin and Greek, and into those languages, presented no difficulty when the examiner was a friend, well plied with port before the examination, and intending to dine with the candidate after the ceremony was over. It was considered "ungenteel" for a Vice-Chancellor or one of the Proctors to come in and disturb this very social examination.

Such were the tests; the rest of the qualifications for the B.A. were, if possible, of an even more formal character. The only resemblance which the degree bears to our present one is that for it also fees were required at every step—a permanent feature in universities as in all other human institutions. As the current epigram put it,

"E'en Baalam's ass,
If he could pay the fees, would pass."

More ceremonies of the same kind were required for the M.A., including especially the so-called "Wall lectures." By these (in theory) the Bachelor showed himself able to give a course of six Latin lectures; in practice he had no audience except the "walls," and never lectured, unless a Proctor entered, in which

* In theory the Senior Proctor nominated the examiners; in practice a bribe of 5*s.* to his servant secured the right of choice.

unlikely case any old Latin book would do to furnish him with a sheet or two to read aloud. By this time the old requirement of continuous residence till the M.A. degree was taken had been commuted into formal residence of a term a year.*

It may be noted here that two of the three men whose influence in the University swept away most of these forms, and introduced a real system of examination, were scholars of Wadham at this period; but the labours of John Parsons (matriculated 1777), afterwards Master of Balliol, and of John Eveleigh (matriculated 1766), afterwards Provost of Oriel, belong to the next chapter.

The Oxford Sausage† gives us a picture of the Fellows of this period, who

> "Live indeed like petty kings,
> And dine untaxed, untroubled under
> The portrait of our pious founder."

When the Fellow has retired to his country parish and his bride,

> "Haply some friend may shake his hoary head,
> And say, 'Each morn unchilled by frosts he ran
> With hose ungartered, o'er yon turfy bed,
> To reach the Chapel ere the psalms began.
>
> "There in the arms of that lethargic chair,
> Which rears its moth-devoured back so high,
> At noon he quaffed three glasses to the fair,
> And pored upon the news with curious eye.

* This in the nineteenth century became residence for the term only in which the M.A. degree was taken. This last, which will be familiar to many from "Tom Brown at Oxford," was only abolished about 1860.

† Published in 1764; pp. 31, 34, 40.

"Now by the fire, engaged in serious talk
Or mirthful converse, would he loitering stand;
Then in the garden chose a sunny walk,
Or launched the polished bowl with steady hand.'"

However, there was another side to university life and work even in the eighteenth century. As will be seen, hard study was pursued, and original work done, at the darkest period, and things cannot have been so hopeless as the satirists say, even for the ordinary man, when old members of the college are found regularly sending their sons where they themselves had been before, and moreover adding to the endowments and treasures of Oxford. This is not the conduct of men who were conscious that their own university careers had been worse than wasted.

Prominent among the Wadham studies of this period is the cultivation of Oriental learning, to which Hody had given special encouragement by the foundations of his Hebrew exhibitions. The Laudian Professorship of Arabic was held for more than half the century by two Wadham men, John Wallis* (1703-1738), and Joseph White (1774-1814); the latter was, for the last twelve years, also Regius Professor of Hebrew. The college actually gave him in 1776 the use of the Senior Common Room for his Arabic lectures; but perhaps, like other professors in more recent days, the lecture never went beyond an announcement. There is no doubt, however, that White was an indefatigable worker, and the author of

* He held also (1699) one of the Arabic Studentships founded by William III., out of which foundation grew the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic.

numerous books bearing on Oriental scholarship; but he is now only remembered for his Bampton Lectures (1784), which were the cause of a literary controversy of considerable importance. His subject had been a "Comparison of Mahometism and Christianity," and he had attracted especial attention by his contrast between Christian and Mohammedan ethics; he was accused of having his lectures written for him by an ex-Dissenting minister, Samuel Badcock, and by Dr. Parr, but he succeeded in clearing himself of the main charge, though it was admitted that he had received considerable assistance, and had paid handsomely for it. Many of White's Oriental books came to the College library.

More famous than White is Benjamin Kennicott, who matriculated as servitor early in 1744; he was, like White, of very lowly origin, being the son of the baker and parish clerk of Totnes; he was twenty-five when he came up. These two are instances of a fact too often forgotten in these reforming days—that patronage was more favourable to merit in humble life than the modern system of competitive examination; a parish-clerk's son, however great his aptitude for Oriental languages, would look in vain for a servitorship and a fellowship, since all endowments are now given by a system which requires merit, and only such merit as can be shown by a candidate whose parents have been able to give him the ordinary education.

Kennicott was a very great man in his day; even George III. actually gave him a pension of £200 as early as 1761, and more than £9000 was collected in England in order to enable him to pursue his great work of examining and collating the Hebrew MSS. of

the Old Testament. Here, again, it is difficult to believe that our own day would subscribe with anything like the same liberality for such an object, or indeed for any literary object at all. Kennicott seems to have been an indefatigable worker rather than a great scholar; he was not a man of ideas like Lowth, whose lectures (as Professor of Poetry) on Isaiah mark an epoch in sacred scholarship; but he will be remembered at least for the scholarships which his widow founded in his memory, and perhaps also for the exquisitely ridiculous compliment paid him by Mr. Hurdis, the would-be refuter of Gibbon; "while the Colossus, Kennicott, literally *bestrides the world*, it is the inferior lot of Mr. Gibbon to be great only among us *petty men*, who

> "Walk under his huge legs, and peep about
> To find ourselves dishonourable graves."

(The italics are Mr. Hurdis', not my own.)

In a different field of sacred scholarship the name of James Parsons (matriculated 1777) deserves a brief mention, as he completed for the Septuagint an enterprise similar to that which Kennicott had carried out for the Hebrew text; this had been begun by Dr. Holmes, of New College, on whose death Parsons was invited by the delegates of the Press to carry on the work; it took him nineteen years more (1808-1827). Truly if there were idle fellows in those days, there were also workers who, in the scale of their undertakings, far exceed anything which our own busy age can show.

Other Orientalists of note were the Rev. George

Costard*, whose work on the History of Astronomy (1767) is said to be still valuable for its wealth of quotations from Oriental and classical writers, and John Richardson (matriculated 1775), whose great Persian Dictionary has been often re-edited, and has done much for the advancement of the knowledge of the language in England. His preface is well worth looking at for its extraordinary mixture of real criticism as to Greek History and Mythology (Herodotus fares but badly at Richardson's hands), and of absolute credulity as to Persian writers.

The only notable Wadham scholar in the strict sense during this period was Floyer Sydenham, whom Dr. Parr ranked first among the Platonists of his time; he translated the Greek philosopher's works in four volumes; but his labour was so little remunerative that he died in prison for debt. This sad end to a respected career is said to have led to the foundation of the Literary Society for the relief of distressed authors.

For natural science Wadham seems to have done nothing of note at this period, if we except the extraordinary career of William Austin; he came up from Wootton-under-Edge in 1773, in 1776 became Assistant Lecturer in Arabic, then went to London to study medicine, and returned to Oxford in 1780, to lecture for the Savilian Professor of Mathematics (1781). He next proposed to lecture on physiology, and actually became Professor of Chemistry; he also wrote sermons,

* Costard deserves praise also for a higher sense of public duty than usually marked his time. When offered the Wardenship in 1777, he declined it on the ground of age (he was then sixty-seven), though he was quite a poor man.

though apparently he did not publish them. It is not surprising that such a jack-of-all-trades did not materially advance knowledge in any department, or that he died at thirty-eight; but he was an acute observer as well as a prodigious worker, and he was the first to establish regular chemical lectures at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

Of men of real eminence during this period, Wadham seems to have been singularly unfruitful. James Harris (matriculated 1726) was a not undistinguished member of the Johnsonian circle, though the great Doctor had but a poor opinion of him, pronouncing him a "coxcomb" and "a prig and a bad prig," and denying his title to be an eminent Grecian.* His great work, "Hermes," an inquiry into universal grammar, had the honour of being translated into French by order of the Directory in 1796, and was praised by Lowth as "the most beautiful example of analysis since Aristotle," but the reader—if it find any now—will probably agree with Johnson that Harris "did not understand his own system." He was, however, so amiable a man that Boswell could not understand Johnson's hard words about him, and cruelly records a specimen of Harris' wit;† he also condones the "affected" style of Hermes by the double-edged saying "it clothes plain thoughts in analytick and categorical formality."

Harris was a considerable politician in his own day, as a supporter of George Grenville, and has preserved his memory, in his own college at any rate, by his portrait—a Reynolds‡—in excellent condition—which

* Boswell's "Life of Johnson" (Hill's edition), v. 378; ii. 225; iii. 245. † *Ibid.* v. 378.

‡ For the evidence as to its genuineness, see Appendix II.

represents him as a somewhat formal but kindly-looking old gentleman in a tie-wig.

The vigorous Bishop Woodward * (matriculated 1742) of Cloyne, who was an early opponent of penal laws against Catholics, a Governor of Madras, Robert Palk (matriculated 1736), who was a friend of Warren Hastings, and gave his name to the strait between India and Ceylon, and two successful judges, complete the list of men of public distinction that the Wadham of this dull time has to show. Of these two last Richard Richards (matriculated 1774), Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was a sturdy friend of Lord Eldon's; and William Draper Best (matriculated 1782) afterwards Lord Wynford, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, another sound Tory Judge, may claim to be remembered for the delightful literalness of the compiler of the legal index, who entered a casual remark of Lord Wynford's "that he had a great mind to commit the plaintiff," under "Lord Wynford, His great mind."

During this period politics were ceasing to occupy Oxford; in fact, after the conspiracy of Atterbury, her Jacobitism became more and more a mere sentiment, and less and less a force moving to action. Hence, apart from the above-mentioned scandal of 1719 (p. 130), little is heard of politics in the college, although in 1754 one of the scholars, John Pester, was deprived of his place for wearing political colours at the famous Oxford county election, when the Jacobite rioters held the approaches to the Broad Street, and the Whig

* A scholarship for natives of Gloucestershire has just been founded at Wadham to commemorate the bishop and other more recent members of the Woodward family.

freeholders baffled them by slipping through Exeter College to the polling booths there.

A new force was arising to disturb the peace of colleges, in the Wesleyan movement; this, however, seems to have left Wadham untouched, nor do the members of the college play a prominent part in the religious struggles away from Oxford. There is nothing to mention in this connection except that one prominent Wadham divine, John Bradford, migrated to the Countess of Huntingdon's connection, and that another, William Bishop, as Vicar of Wedmore in Somerset, protested against Hannah More's attempt to reform his parish by her sunday school. It is only in the next century that Wadham becomes a prominent Evangelical college.

But Wadham was steadily becoming more wealthy during this inglorious period. In 1733 it was able to pass the welcome resolution "That every person on the foundation receive the full stipend as left by the will of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham for the first time;" the first century of college life, like our own days in the latter part of the third, had been a time of reduced stipends. And shortly after this, in 1746, Wadham received a very considerable benefaction from Thomas, Lord Wyndham (matriculated 1698), who had served with distinction for many years as Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.* Part of his gift went to increase the stipend of the Warden, and part was applied, in the usual way in which colleges apply spare cash, to altering and improving the fabric. In fact, the eighteenth

* His portrait hangs in the college hall, and also in the Warden's lodgings.

century was a busy time in the way of college changes, though fortunately the good genius of Wadham, or rather the excellence of the original building, kept these all to matters of detail.

One of the most important of these changes was the recasting of the library, which took place at the end of this period. In 1776 a new approach was opened to it from the college hall.* Some ten years later, owing to the large additions to the Library, the old practice of chaining books was given up, and probably the present shelves were erected. These additions came from three main sources, Richard Warner of Woodford, Essex, who died in 1775, Samuel Bush, Vicar of Wadhurst, who died eight years later, and Alexander Thistlethwayte,† M.P. for Hants, who died in 1771; the last-named gave an unusual number of foreign books, while Bush's collection is of a more miscellaneous kind. Warner's gift, however, is far more important than the other two together, in fact it would be no exaggeration to say that his 4000 books are the most precious portion of the Library. He was an Essex man of scientific tastes, and some of his books are botanical; but the greater part of them form an extraordinarily well-selected collection of English literature; it is rare to find a Warner book which even now has not some value. He was especially a devoted student of Shakespeare,

* This was given up in 1807, when the original approach to the Library was restored; the present staircase is of course new, dating from this latter year. There are still traces, in the seat behind the scholars' table, of this approach from the Hall to the Library.

† Curiously enough, these three great benefactors to the Library almost overlap. Bush resided from 1722 to 1741, Warner from 1730 to 1734, and Thistlethwayte came up in 1735.

and published an elaborate letter to Garrick as to a Shakesperian glossary (1768); he also projected an edition of Shakespeare, and apparently of Ben Jonson and of Beaumont and Fletcher, but, like other wealthy would-be editors, he never got further than preparing elaborately interleaved texts. However, he collected all the books he could on the subject, beginning with the first four folios of Shakespeare;* a glance at the shelves of Wadham is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and arrogant claim of the Germans that the English never appreciated their great countryman till the German Schlegel revealed him to them at the end of the last century. Further details as to Warner's treasures must be banished to an appendix.†

One of the earliest changes in the appearance of the college at this period has been already referred to (p. 132); the trees in "the grove" in the Back Quad were cut down in 1731 in order to enclose a site for a stable for the Warden; thus the space available for college purposes was reduced to a pathway under the South wall of the college building, by which access was given to Nos. IX and X. The stable, however, was not built till 1826.

Much more important were the changes by which the gardens were brought nearer to their present shape. What happened in the garden in 1730 we cannot say, but there is a grim reference in the Convention Book

* Unfortunately he was satisfied with a poor copy of the first folio (1623); it has been badly "cut" and lacks the portrait, and several leaves, but the other three are fine copies.

† Warner also founded a botanical exhibition; this gave W. Austin his first impulse (p. 142) to the study of science. It has now been merged in the General Exhibition Fund (p. 87).

to "causeless and expensive alterations"; in 1753, however, we hear that Atlas had been blown down and smashed by a high wind which rendered some new laying out of the garden necessary. Finally, in 1777 the old "graveyard" at the back of the chapel was converted into a garden, since it was no longer used for its original purpose; it was, however, still separated by a wall from the main part of the fellows' garden. During all this time the two small gardens in front of the college, on what is now Park Street, were still enclosed by high walls with a Jacobean gateway in the centre; one of them was assigned to the Warden, the other to the fellows.

An equally important change in the rooms of the college was the fitting up of the garrets for habitation. These "cocklofts," as they were originally called, had been at first unoccupied, and then were let with the rooms underneath them—on the second floor—which were usually held by fellows. Even as early as the Civil War, however, some of them seem to have been inhabited, though they had, as can be seen from Loggan's picture of the college, no windows (except a few skylights) towards the quad, and no fireplaces. But in the eighteenth century a great change came over the habits of Oxford; "chumming" went out of fashion, and every man wanted a room to himself; hence in 1773 it was resolved that, "though the members of the College were not near so many as they have formerly been," yet because "all the chambers were full so that there was no room into which to put any young person that should enter," * the garrets

* It need hardly be said that at this time and long after, till

should henceforth be let separately. These garrets were to be assigned to the scholars along with the ground room of No. III.—the present bursary.* They were fitted up with windows and fireplaces gradually, as they were surrendered by their holders to the college, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It may be added that in 1765 the number of students in residence seems to have been only about fifty.

The modernisation of the windows was also carried out during this period, but fortunately the front of the mullions was left and the sashes only inserted behind them; thus convenience was combined with picturesqueness. No doubt, however, it was economy and not admiration of the old windows, which led to this compromise; for in April 1792 it was resolved, "in order to beautify the entrance to the college from the street, to sash the bow window fronting the west." If this was ever carried out, it has been altered again since; the room still has casement windows, as all who have used it know from experience, for it is bitterly cold.

One more small change may be mentioned—the alteration of the staircases on Nos. III., IV., and VII., which are much less precipitous than those elsewhere in the Front Quad; this change seems to have been carried out in the years 1773 (for the first two) and

1870, "residence" could only be kept within the walls of a college; hence all men had to be in rooms for three years. The abolition of this requirement is perhaps the most important change in modern Oxford, for it has rendered easy the growth of large colleges.

* This room had originally been assigned to the bible clerks, as they had to be near the chapel.

1745 respectively. Previously the staircases had run right across the building.

In all these ways Wadham was approximating to its present appearance. So, too, it is during this period that some of the most important changes took place in manners; the times of meals especially began to approach to our modern hours. Originally, no doubt, dinner in hall had been at eleven A.M., and supper at five or six P.M.; but Hearne notes, with great disgust, the change of the dinner hour to twelve. In February 1722 he writes: "Whereas the University disputations on Ash Wednesday should begin at one o'clock, they did not begin this year till two or after, which is owing to several colleges having altered their hour of dining from eleven to twelve, occasioned by people's lying in bed longer than they used to do." So next year, twelve o'clock dinner at S. Edmund Hall and "no fritters" on Shrove Tuesday inspire the remark, "When laudable old customs alter 'tis a sign learning dwindles." In the middle of the century, Newton fixed the dinner hour at Hertford at one P.M. (but he was a reformer), and by the end of it all colleges were dining at three or four P.M., and beginning to move to four or five P.M. As there are many members of the University who still remember five o'clock hall, it may fairly be said that the eighteenth century brings us very close to the habits of our own day.

The change in the hour of dinner introduced a change also in the character of breakfast. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this was still bread and ale, which the scholar himself fetched from the buttery; by the middle of the century tea had

come in for the exquisite and the person of fashion; as the hardy scholar sings in 1764: *

> "Let the tender swain
> Each morn regale on nerve-relaxing tea;
> Be mine each morn with eager appetite
> And hunger undissembled, to repair
> To friendly buttery; there on smoking crust
> And foaming ale to breakfast unrestrained."

By the end of the century ale was going out of fashion with the ordinary man, though it still seems to have survived well into the nineteenth century.† In one important respect, however, the dinners of the last century conformed rather to the formal arrangements of the Foundress than to the free-and-easy licence of our own day; every one "dressed" for dinner, and the College barber was still an important functionary to prepare the wig, or at least to elaborately dress a man's own hair. It is no wonder that "dress" was obligatory in hall, when knee-breeches and stockings were still required in the streets; the first proctor who neglected to take notice of the modern abomination of trousers was Rigaud, in 1810.

But greater ceremonial was not inconsistent with great roughness of service. A curious light is thrown on the hall dinners of the eighteenth century by a resolution

* Oxford Sausage, p. 58.

† The college breakfasting society — the Beef Steak — (Diu floreat) still preserves a relic of the old custom in the tankard of beer ("Toby,") which stands on the table, and always goes round after breakfast; but in these degenerate days too many only put their lips to it or pass it altogether. The society was founded in 1842 (p. 183).

of the college in 1820: "The under-butler be responsible for the cleansing of as many knives and forks as shall be necessary for the daily supply of the hall tables, and that the practice of wiping them only be discontinued."

In the matter of coffee-houses and Society rules, the last century more resembles its predecessor than it does our own. Till the time of Warden Wills, it was the custom of "every academic of fashion" to visit the coffee-house in the afternoon; Wadham men went with those of New College to "Baggs'," a stone house at the corner of Holywell, facing the King's Arms—*i.e.*, where the Indian Institute now stands.* It is the modern development of amusements which has especially killed this old fashion. The seventeenth-century rules of "all work and no play" gave way to the licence of the Restoration; but the amusements were still rather those of the wealthy—*e.g.*, riding and driving, with such sports as cock-fighting and horse-racing for the more extravagant. It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that boating became common, and, of course, organised races are much later still.

One amusement, however, of a different kind—music—was fully organised at the period described in this chapter, and with this Wadham has a special connection through the Holywell Music Hall, which was built on a site belonging to the college in 1742. Hearne had blamed the Vice-Chancellor for lending the theatre to "one Handel, a foreigner," in 1733, whose "book (not worth one penny) sells for one shilling;" he was spared seeing the erection of this

* Wood, "Life," i. 16.

"Odeum Oxoniense," which was the centre of University music during the rest of the century.

These facts are all trifles in themselves, but they illustrate the change which came over Oxford in the eighteenth century. Even after the Restoration, the University had been above everything else a training place for students; it was, it may be said, a microcosm of its own; in the eighteenth century it was rapidly becoming, what it now is above everything else, a place of preparation for the great world outside.

CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN TIMES. THE DAYS OF WARDEN WILLS AND TOURNAY, 1783–1831

With the beginning of the reign of Warden Wills our own times seem to be drawing near. There are many still living, and they not old, who have known well men who matriculated under him (1783–1806); and there can be very few Wadham men who have not at least seen, if they have not actually enjoyed the acquaintance of, sturdy survivors of the times of Warden Tournay (1806–1831), who are or quite recently were still left among us.

Neither of these two Wardens can be called a great man, but they were both leading men in their day, and they certainly ruled Wadham with wisdom and success. Wills takes a high rank among the benefactors of the College, for he left it at his death a large sum, so distributed as to meet those needs which his experience had specially brought before his notice; part of his bequest went to substantially augment the stipend of the Warden, while he also sought to provide for superannuated fellows both by the purchase of livings and by direct annuities. The former gift has been the

origin of the modern Pension Fund for tutors, which has been started (according to the arrangements of the last University Commission) with the proceeds of the sale of some of the Wills* livings. His exhibitions, too, for Law and for Medicine, have already been the first steps in several distinguished careers. Nor did he forget the University in his kindness to his college; his benefactions to the Vice-Chancellor, to the Bodleian, and to the Sheldonian Theatre have gained him a place in the long roll of University Benefactors, recited on Commemoration Sunday and other special occasions. So too both the parishes of which he held the livings received a permanent mark of his wealth and liberality.

His most beautiful memorial is the Wadham garden, which assumed its present form in his time; but he is deservedly also commemorated in Hall by a picture of Hoppner's, which, though somewhat hard in the handling, is a good and vigorous piece of work. It shows him as a man in whose face shrewd common sense and kindly caution are the prominent characteristics.

Wills seems to have been a college head of great simplicity of character and life; he is described as working with his haymakers "in the Warden's close, quite in earnest, and in his shirtsleeves."† He had the foresight to take from Merton College the lease of this

* If any sale of livings be justifiable, this certainly may be justified; for a pension fund is an absolute necessity in a college whose tuition is to be maintained efficiently, and Dr. Wills' money is applied to the very object for which he left it, though by a different channel.

† Cox, "Oxford," p. 158; a foolish book, but containing much interesting information, unattainable elsewhere.

property—about four acres—which now forms the North part of the Warden's garden, and the liberality in 1795 to give it to the college "for the use of the Warden for ever." * It was at the same time (1796) that the fellows' garden assumed its present form; the old walls of division had been swept away in the previous year, and now the formal walks disappeared, and the grounds were laid out in the "new style"—of "landscape gardening"—which had become fashionable. The artist who designed this triumph was the gardener of the Duke of Marlborough; his name was Shipley.

Wills was Vice-Chancellor from 1792 to 1796, and displayed to the full that caution which, perhaps not unnaturally, marked all those in authority during the stormy days of the French Revolution. About 1794 a society for "Scientific and Literary Disquisition" was formed by some eleven undergraduates, and as they wished to meet in a hired room, they applied to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for their sanction; they submitted for their approval the rules of the society, which had been carefully drawn up to exclude all topics of political or religious discussion. Wills received the deputation courteously, but asked for time to consider and to consult other heads of houses; when the deputation called again at the end of the appointed week, he gave them the following answer: "Gentlemen,—There does not appear to be anything

* It was then held on a beneficial lease. Finally, in 1834, the college bought the freehold from Merton for £1600; the lease had fourteen years yet to run. In 1795 it was still unenclosed on its North side, except by a hedge and a ditch.

in these laws subversive of academic discipline, or contrary to the statutes of the University—*but*, as it is impossible to predict how they may operate, and as innovations of this sort, and in these times, may have a tendency which may be as little anticipated as it may be distressing to the framers of such laws, I am compelled, in the exercise of my magisterial authority as Vice-Chancellor, to interdict your meeting in the manner proposed." And so the poor members of the society had to meet in each other's rooms; and popular feeling was no doubt on the side of the Vice-Chancellor, for they were generally known as "the Lunatics." *

Warden Tournay was elected on the death of Dr. Wills in 1806,† and presided over Wadham for twenty-five years. Cox relates that he was a man who rather shunned than courted power, and he is said to have declined the office of Vice-Chancellor. His special fondness was for improving and planting, and he has left his mark for good on Wadham and on Oxford. He enclosed the Warden's Garden with a wall, and laid it out, raising the long terrace walk on the East side, which is one of its most beautiful

* Reminiscences of T. F. Dibdin in "Reminiscences of Oxford (O. H. S.)," p. 219. The society contained several men afterwards distinguished, especially Edward Copleston, Scholar of C. C. C., and Fellow and Provost of Oriel, the champion of Oxford against the *Edinburgh Review* in the next generation.

† It was in this year—1806—that the obligation of celibacy was removed from the headship of the college; a special short Act of Parliament was passed, allowing the Warden of Wadham to marry. It need hardly be added that there is no truth in the college tradition, that the change was accomplished by a clause "tacked on" to a Canal Bill.

features.* He also, by a more doubtful improvement, took away the enclosure which had originally protected the front of Wadham like that of St. John's; one result of this was that in the Long Vacation of 1871, the city of Oxford arbitrarily converted the road past Wadham, which was a private one, into a public thoroughfare. All Wadham men will be grateful to him, however, for the improvement made (1809) just after he had become Warden, and probably at his suggestion, which laid down grass in the Front Quad; previously it had been gravelled. There is no doubt that a large part of the charm of this quad is due to the contrast between the grey stone and the green of the grass plat, and no grass in Oxford is better kept. For the University the Warden laid out numerous paths, especially the "pretty winding path up the back of Headington Hill," past what is now Mr. Morrell's park, to "Jo. Pullen's tree."

In Wadham itself Tournay especially tried to improve the hall. The great chandeliers, which were once used for oil-lamps and are now channels for the electric light, were bought by him after their use at the coronation of George IV.; there is a sumptuousness about them which, in spite of their somewhat heavy ornament, has endeared them to many generations of Wadham men. But Tournay's taste cannot be equally

* Cox, p. 183, says it was "entirely created" by Tournay, and he is a contemporary authority of the greatest value on such a point. Mr. Jackson (p. 215) adopts the college tradition that the mound had its origin in King Charles I.'s fortifications; but the passage of Wood ("Ann.," ii. 456), which he quotes, distinctly refers to the "New Park," and seems to me to place the works which it describes farther north than the Warden's garden.

commended in the painting of the woodwork of the hall, and in the somewhat garish glass with which he glazed the great South window in 1827; at the same time, the other windows were glazed by other old members of the college, whose coats of arms can still be seen in them, and the oriel window over the end of the High Table was adorned with the arms of Wadham's most distinguished sons.*

Most of the changes of fabric at this period can be definitely connected with one of the Wardens; but there is another which may well be mentioned here, though there is no ground for attributing it to any special person. Dr. Johnson said it was a "sign of Whiggery" when the old fireplaces in the middle of college halls were removed; it is not likely that the politics of Wadham under Warden Wills were of that objectionable colour, but certain it is that in 1797 it was decided to get rid of the old brazier which stood under the hall louvre. What arrangement was substituted for the next thirty years is unknown; it was only in 1826 that the present fireplace was erected.

Warden Tournay seems to have been a man of great geniality and kindness; there is, it might be said, a humorous twinkle in the face, which is so familiar from the excellent portrait of him by Thomas Kirkby, which hangs in the hall. But he had one curious prejudice;

* Both these changes have been largely undone in our own day. The paint was taken from the woodwork in 1872, and in 1898 the windows have been reglazed with clear green glass, only the coats of arms being left. The artistic effect is much improved, and the beauty of the hall can be far better seen, as there is now abundance of light. The college owes this change to the generosity of Mr. Richards, to whom it already owed the oak hall-floor (p. 16).

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE HALL

he disliked those born outside Great Britain, or rather he thought that the benefits of the foundation over which he ruled were not intended for such. The late Professor Bonamy Price was never weary of telling how Warden Tournay refused to admit him because he was a Frenchman (he was born in the Channel Islands), and so Wadham lost and Worcester gained the honour of rearing one of the most brilliant talkers and kindest men of nineteenth-century Oxford. And the register* records a curious instance of a certain Mr. Sampson, of Belfast, who had to pay £60 caution-money, because he was not a native of Great Britain.

A contemporary records of Warden Tournay that he never went to chapel† in his latter days; he resigned his post two years before his death. He was buried at Peterborough, where he was prebendary; his epitaph, after speaking of his "firm belief in the religion of Jesus Christ," goes on somewhat quaintly to end the catalogue of his virtues—"In social intercourse he was distinguished by a playful fancy, a refined taste, and peculiar powers of conversation." Both he and his predecessor have memorials in the college chapel.

It was during the reign of Warden Wills that the change was introduced into the University system, which has had the most potent influence on the Oxford of this century: the new Examination Statute was passed in the year 1800, and came into operation in 1802. It is not necessary here to go into the details of

* Warden Tournay deserves especial praise for having (in 1810) begun once again to keep most carefully the register of all who entered at Wadham. This has been continued ever since.

† "Notes and Queries," 1878, p. 321.

the way in which it was gradually developed; it must suffice to say that since 1807 the characteristic Oxford School of Literæ Humaniores has been in existence, and that the Oxford principle of arranging candidates in classes, and not by order of individual merit, has been established. The effect of the new statute was to sweep away the ridiculous forms which had survived till they were meaningless, and to substitute a real examination.

The result of the system has been undoubtedly a great increase of work and encouragement to systematic reading; the result also—at least of later years—has perhaps been to discourage originality, to limit the range of studies, and to substitute cram work for real interest. But it is not the time now to balance the ultimate results of the system; there is no doubt that for many years at any rate it was a great power for good in Oxford; and it ought never to be forgotten that the system, as originally established, was very different from that which has been evolved during the course of the century; at least half of the examination was conducted *viva voce*, and men went as a matter of course to hear the performance of a brilliant undergraduate against his examiners. It is on record how a Wadham tutor sent all the men attending his lecture to hear the *viva* of a safe first, "which will do you more good than any lecture of mine"; unfortunately the certain first was "plucked" at once in Divinity, and so the *viva* never came off.*

* "Notes and Queries," 1878, p. 321. It was looked upon as a judgment because the undergraduate in question had been excused attending chapel by the Sub-Warden, Symons, in order that he might make his first doubly sure.

Of the three men most influential in carrying through, in spite of the opposition of idleness and the prejudices against all innovation, the new system of examination, two had been bred at Wadham; Cyril Jackson, the great Dean of Christ Church, may have been the prime mover in the changed order of things, but he was ably supported by John Eveleigh, Provost of Oriel, and John Parsons, Master of Balliol, both of whom had been scholars of Wadham.

It was under Eveleigh, who became provost of Oriel in 1781, that the system of open competition for the fellowships of his college was introduced, which made them the "blue ribands" of the University. The result was the election, in rapid succession, of men like Copleston, Keble, Arnold, and Newman.

Parsons, who became Master of Balliol in 1788, did at least as much as Eveleigh for the fortunes of his new college; he was the first of that series of strong Masters who have raised Balliol from quite a low position to an undisputed place in the front rank of colleges; especially he was one of the first heads to organise the system of tutorial supervision and instruction, which is so important a feature in modern Oxford. Parsons' career as Master belongs to the history of Balliol, and it is fitting that the original of his portrait—painted when he was Bishop of Peterborough—should hang there; but there is a copy in the hall of his old college. The artist has somewhat maliciously hit off one of the old man's foibles; Parsons prided himself on being free from all tricks of manner, while at the same time he had a very curious habit of pressing his fingers and thumbs together as he talked,

and slowly moving up and down his hands thus joined. When the artist begged him to make himself at his ease, to take any characteristic attitude, the Master replied: "No, Sir, I have no peculiarities about me, no, no peculiarities;" at the same time he arranged his hands as usual, and waved them slowly up and down. The artist took him not at his word but as he acted, and the Master's fingers and thumbs remain pressed against each other, in a sort of triangle, to amuse future generations.

As might be expected, the long war with the French Republic and with Napoleon tended for the time to thin the numbers of the University, and so of Wadham. During the first five years of Warden Wills (1784-8), the entrances at Wadham averaged fourteen; for each of the six following similar periods they average eleven (1789-93), ten (1794-8), twelve (1799-1803), eleven (1804-8), fifteen (1809-13), eighteen (1814-8). The most remarkable thing as to these figures is the evident revival of public confidence for some years before Napoleon had been finally crushed.

With the war itself colleges had little to do; the Army and the Navy as a rule are the two professions in which University men do not take part. Mr. Gardiner only records two or three Wadham men who served as Chaplains in the Fleet during these stirring times, one of whom, Thomas Morgan, was present at Lord Howe's victory on "the glorious 1st of June" 1794, while another, William Holbyn Lake, a Fellow of the College, went down in the wreck of the St. George, off the coast of Jutland, in December 1811, when only eleven were saved out of a crew of nearly eight hundred.

Edward Meade also, after two years of residence, went down to enlist in the 40th Regiment, and met a soldier's death at the landing in Aboukir Bay (1801). A little better remembered is Joseph Dornford, who left Cambridge for the Peninsular War in 1811, and after serving two years in the Rifle Brigade, returned to his studies, but migrated to Oxford as he did not find himself in harmony with the Simeonite party at his own University. He matriculated at Wadham in December 1813, and was known as "Corporal Joe"; he was one of the most popular men in college and took his first class and a fellowship at Oriel. Mozley * records that one summer night he "induced half the college to bivouac in the quad." Dornford had been strongly under the influence of his tutor Symons when at Wadham, though he had always "kept aloof from the synagogue at St. Edmund Hall"; but at Oriel, and still more in his country livings later, he drifted away into Tractarianism.

Among the churchmen trained at Wadham during this period was William Skinner, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus of the Scotch Church; his influence in building up Episcopacy in Scotland was considerable, though he is less known than his father, who also was Bishop of Aberdeen, and who had taken part in the famous consecration of the American Bishop Seabury in 1784. The younger Skinner was about twenty years senior at Wadham to two men who played a prominent part in the establishment of the Anglican Church in the American Continent,

* "Reminiscences ii.," 57, *seq.*—one of the most amusing parts of that charming book.

Edward Feild who (matriculated 1819) was Bishop of Newfoundland from 1844 to 1876, and John Medley (matriculated 1822), who was consecrated Bishop of Fredericton only a year after Feild, but whose work was continued sixteen years longer till he died at his post in 1892; he had then been Metropolitan of Canada since 1879. His portrait, showing his cathedral (which he completed), hangs in the college hall. Medley was something of a scholar, and took part in the translations of the Fathers, which were issued as part of the Anglo-Catholic Library; his share was some of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom.

Perhaps Henry Soames too deserves mention as a pioneer in the revival of the study in Early English Ecclesiastical History; his Bampton Lectures in 1830 were on the "Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church." His learning in editing Mosheim has received the high honour of commendation from the present Bishop of Oxford, and his choice of a subject for his lectures is a significant sign of that reviving interest in antiquity which was one of the causes of the Oxford Movement.

It was during this period, however, that Wadham became the special home of the Evangelical Party in Oxford, a character which it retained for the next half century; of this School much the most famous example is the future Warden, Benjamin Parsons Symons, who matriculated in 1802, and who was one of the fourteen bold men who managed to get honours in the first five years of the "New Statute," before its requirements were modified in 1807 so as to be more adapted to human powers. Other prominent divines of the same school were Charles Girdlestone, a considerable scholar,

a voluminous writer, and a most devoted parish clergyman, Daniel Wilson, for so many years the well-known Vicar of Islington, and Charles Vores of Hastings, an eloquent pulpit orator;* two of the three were first class men and fellows of their colleges.

Of quite a different school and rather later in date (they matriculated in the last six years of Dr. Tournay's reign) were W. J. Blew, famous for his great liturgical collection† so recently dispersed by auction, and T. W. Allies, one of the early perverts to Rome.

But theological questions had not yet attracted that all absorbing attention which marks the Oxford of the next generation. It is time to turn to Wadham's part in the "New Schools," which were already becoming one of the great objects of University interest. The list in Easter Term 1818 was a glorious one for Wadham, as it contributed three of the seven first classes.‡ One of these, Girdlestone, has already been mentioned, and Buchanan is otherwise unknown; but it was the third, Richard Bethell, who was the hero of the hour, and who was carried by his exultant contemporaries in triumph round the quad. No doubt this enthusiasm was due to his extraordinary youth,

* According to a college tradition, for which there seem to be some grounds, he, when "sconced" on one occasion, "floored the Langton." (It holds 2 quarts and half a pint). This feat, however, is *not* commemorated by the cup which he presented to the college.

† I have heard that at one time he proposed to leave it to the college, but later altered his will.

‡ All three also obtained a second-class in mathematics at the same time, though, it must be added, Girdlestone was the only one above the line; Bethell's second, therefore, was what would now be called a third.

for he was not yet eighteen. There was, however, little that was particularly youthful about the future Lord Chancellor unless we except the banquet he gave in the gardens to celebrate his "first," at which he poured a goblet of claret over his new B.A. gown, as a libation in its honour. He had joined the college in October 1814, while still wearing a jacket and frill, although the Warden urged his father to postpone his matriculation for a year, as "children were not admitted to the college." "Sir," replied his fond father, "I think my son a prodigy," and his confidence was justified; the boy won his scholarship in June 1815, on his fifteenth birthday, a fact which was recorded at his special wish on his monument in the Ante-chapel: "*Fortunarum vero suarum principium ab eo die memor repetebat, quo annum ætatis XVum conficiens scholaris collegii Wadhami renunciatus est.*" From the age of seventeen onwards he, with good reason, claimed to have maintained himself entirely by his own exertions; and when residing after his degree and taking pupils in order to have some money for his start at the Bar, he was able, by excessive work, to make enough, also, to assist his father whose means were straitened.* It is no wonder that Bethell always held the idea, and strongly urged it, that most men came up to Oxford much too late; he was of opinion that the degree course should be got over quickly in order to give a man time

* The present Warden has furnished to "Lord Westbury's Life" (i. 16) an interesting estimate of his annual receipts from college: "Scholarship, £10; Exemption from rent, £10; From other payments, £10; Hody Greek Exhibition, £20 (raised to £24); Goodridge Exhibition, £3; Wills' Law Exhibition (after 1818) £16; about £70 in all.

for some general reading before he entered on his life's profession.

Two more points may be noticed as to his undergraduate career, his particular care for his dress, and the fact that he read for an hour every day before morning chapel, having first run round Christ Church meadow by way of exercise. His subsequent career, as one of the most brilliant of advocates and most vigorous of law reformers, and his famous judgments when raised to the Woolsack as Lord Westbury, belong to English history; but his old college never saw that side of him which has become especially famous, his extreme and almost "vitriolic" bitterness; he was always most loyal to his Alma Mater, and delighted to remember her and his old friends; in his will he directed that the best of his three busts should go to Wadham, and it still stands in the hall. His university career, in more ways than one, had laid the foundation of his later fortunes, for it was his brilliant performance in the "Schools" which led the Principal of Brasenose College, Dr. Gilbert, to entrust his society's case to a young and previously unknown advocate; and Bethell's success in Rex *v.* Brasenose ensured his subsequent fortunes.

One more memorial of him still survives in college; the Book Club which furnishes each of its twenty members with one or more new books a week, was founded by him, according to a tradition which seems well grounded; for, though its earliest records have perished, yet his name appears in the first preserved minutes, those of the meeting of April 26, 1822. He is then, it is sad to say, held responsible for two or three books missing, and is also found proposing "Disraeli's

Literary Characters," "Cain" (? Lord Byron's) and a book called "Waddington." At the first sale of books recorded, he buys McCrie's "Knox" for 12s.,* and three numbers of the *Retrospective Review*.

The next distinguished scholar who appears at Wadham was Richard Michell, afterwards Public Orator, well known for many years in Oxford as coach, tutor and examiner, and still remembered for his brilliant *Orationes Crewcianæ;* he was only twenty-four when he first examined in the Final Classical School. He was an unsuccessful competitor against Mark Pattison for the Rectorship of Lincoln in 1861, but lived to see himself head of a college, when the liberality of Mr. T. C. Baring, himself a member of Wadham (p. 188), transformed Magdalen Hall, of which Michell was head, into Hertford.

The scholastic successes of Wadham have always been won mainly in *Literæ Humaniores*, and sad to relate, no member of the College has ever got either the Latin Verse Prize † or the Latin Essay; but Wadham won the Newdigate five times between 1822 and 1834, and the Ireland three times in the first ten years of its foundation (1825–1834). All three of these occasions were a little out of the ordinary; Massie ‡ was the

* The Book Club is maintained by its entrance fees (£1 1s. from each member), and by the prices realised for books after they have been read. It is still most flourishing, and continues to take in the *Quarterly Review*, as it did already in 1822.

† By a curious fatality two of the successful competitors in the 'thirties had been commoners of Wadham, but they obtained scholarships elsewhere; one of these was Dr. Henderson, the present Dean of Carlisle.

‡ Massie was afterwards (Dean) Stanley's coach for the Ireland.

only commoner who won the scholarship in the first thirty years after its foundation, and Brancker took it as a schoolboy from Shrewsbury, who, though matriculated, was not yet in residence ; he was not yet eighteen, and among his competitors were Robert Scott, of dictionary fame, afterwards Master of Balliol, and W. E. Gladstone. The third successful Wadham candidate, Hyman, who won it in 1834, was again a dark horse. Neither Brancker nor Hyman, as fellows of the College, ever fulfilled the promise of their youth ; the latter, however, was Mark Pattison's "coach," and has the honour of being one of the few persons well spoken of in the late Rector of Lincoln's posthumous *chronique scandaleuse* ;* Pattison said that he owed to Hyman his first introduction to "high scholarship," and his love of the great scholars of the past. Let it then stand to the credit of the forgotten Wadham fellow that he inspired the enthusiasm to which Oxford owes the "Life of Casaubon," and most of the charming "Essays." Hyman, according to college tradition, was blessed with so prodigious a memory that he not only never needed to read a book twice, but also presumed on this ability to such an extent that he tore out the contents of a book when he had read it, and kept only the covers as a sort of trophy.† This story is told, in a modified form, of a distinguished contemporary of Hyman's, Charles Badham, who was in the habit of taking

* "Memoirs," p. 142. This book may be said, only too truly, to have damaged no one's reputation except Pattison's own.

† There is an interesting sketch of Hyman in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. lx., and also in the charming articles on "Glasgow and Balliol," and "An Old Oxford Common Room," by the present Sub Warden, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for May 1896.

his classes in translation without any text before him. He is a striking instance of the proverb that a "prophet is not without honour save in his own country;" on the Continent he was respected as one of the first Hellenists of the day, he corresponded with the great Cobet on terms of equality, and received the honour of a Doctor's degree from Leyden; yet at home he obtained only a third class, he never was elected to a fellowship, and after being headmaster of one or two not very important schools, he left England for the post of Professor of Classics at Sydney; this he held from 1867 to his death in 1884. He was a brilliant scholar, largely of the old-fashioned type, which seemed to read the Greek authors mainly for the pleasure of correcting their mistakes and rewriting their texts; but in this line his emendations were "palmary."

Only one more can be mentioned of the band of scholars who were at Wadham in the last days of Warden Tournay; John Bradley Dyne, who came into residence in 1825, gained a distinguished name for himself as headmaster of Highgate School, which flourished exceedingly under his vigorous administrations; he still survives as a striking example of what manner of men were among us in the brave days of old.

The changes of the fabric in gardens, hall and quad have been already referred to; but it remains to chronicle the additions which have brought Wadham to its present size. Even in the time of the Foundress there had been a building on the site of the present No. X., which was used for rooms as early as the middle of the seventeenth century; Bursar Lee calls it the "back lodgings." It was frequently repaired during

the subsequent period, but at the end of the last century it was "in a ruinous state," and it was resolved (1801) to convert it into a brewhouse.* Probably the College did not need so many rooms as before, owing to the decrease of numbers which was due to the war (p. 162).

About the same time—in 1796—Wadham was unwise enough to part with the freehold of the site of No. XI., the buildings on which had long been let to the University. A foundry and warehouse were at once erected on the site, in which the Clarendon Press could carry on its stereotyping—a practice just introduced at this time. In 1828, however, when the pressure for rooms must have been becoming very serious, it was resolved to repurchase the "University Stereotype Foundry,"† and to convert it into rooms; the present No. XI. staircase was the result, and this for many years was known in the college books as "Bible Warehouse." In 1828, it was also resolved to convert the brewhouse into rooms, and to erect a new brewhouse elsewhere. Thus No. X. was added at this time as well as No. XI.

It may be some comfort to those old members of the college who inhabited No. XI. in former days, to know that not only have the enclosures and the Warden's stables been removed (1875-6) to form a Back Quad,

* It was pulled down accordingly. Skelton ("Oxon Antiqua," ii. 153), who gives a picture of it, says it was the last remnant of the Augustinian Priory; to judge by its appearance, however, it must have been built between 1550 and 1600.

† The College gave apparently about £400 more than it had received; but the buildings were better than those on the site when sold. The price paid was £1081.

but that also part of the King's Arms has been taken away (1890), which once made the lower rooms of No. XI. dark, and almost unhealthy. The Back Quad now, though it has not the dignity of the Front Quad, may claim a picturesqueness of its own, as seen from inside, while its inhabitants gain by the increased size of bedrooms which was required by public opinion in buildings put up during our own century.

The next great transformation of the college will come when the King's Arms is pulled down and a new open quadrangle built on its site and that of staircases IX. to XI. Mr. Jackson has shown at Trinity how well he can deal with a site good in itself but much inferior to what Wadham might offer; the college only needs money to give him the grandest opportunity which he has had even in Oxford; and we know that he would not fail to rise to the full height of it.

CHAPTER XI

WADHAM UNDER WARDEN SYMONS (1831–1871)

The improvement in the position of Wadham which had begun under Dr. Wills and had continued under Dr. Tournay, was still maintained under their successor, Benjamin Parsons Symons, who was elected Warden, on Dr. Tournay's resignation, on June 16, 1831. In fact, Symons himself had been as much the cause of the recent prosperity of the College as Tournay; it is his name which is always mentioned in contemporary accounts as representing the teaching and the influence of Wadham, and he had discharged those various duties in the College and in the University at large, the performance of which marks a man as indispensable and brings him to the front in Oxford, even though he have written nothing and may be comparatively unknown to the world outside. Symons had filled all the college offices,* especially those of Bursar and Sub-Warden; and in the University he had been Proctor, Public Examiner, and Select Preacher. He was, therefore, the natural person to succeed Dr. Tournay.

Symons himself belonged to the county of the

* According to the system then prevalent he was in most cases only deputy for some other fellow who was non-resident.

Founder, having been elected scholar from Cheddar* in 1803. His success in the early days of the Examination Statute has been already mentioned (p. 164), and he is the first instance in Wadham records of a successful candidate receiving a grant of books; he was also the first to win the Wills' Reading Prize, now unfortunately abolished. His intellectual position can best be described in the words of Dean Church, who matriculated at Wadham in 1832, and who will hardly be accused of prejudice in the old Warden's favour;† Dr. Symons was "a courageous witness for Evangelical divinity in the days when Evangelicals were not popular in Oxford, a man of ponderous and pedantic learning, and considerable practical acuteness"; it is the more necessary to insist on the Warden's ability, because in the heat of the religious controversy which blazed in the University during the first twenty years of Symons' reign at Wadham, it was customary for the more daring spirits of the "Oxford Movement" to speak of him with scarcely veiled contempt.‡

But it is for his theological position especially that Symons will be remembered. It was because he was an Evangelical that he was able to make Wadham even more popular as a college than it had been; men were sent there, as Dean Church records of himself,§ because

* The monument erected by him in the church there to his parents and his brother can still be seen.

† "Oxford Movement," pp. 283, 284.

‡ Such are the references to him in Mozley's "Reminiscences," ii., 57, 107, in the account of Dornford and Blencowe, both of whom were elected from Wadham to Oriel in the days when the Oriel common room was the centre of "light and leading" in Oxford.

§ "Life and Letters," p. 10.

the Warden and the tutors were of that school in the Church; and the Warden's famous "Articles lecture" on Sunday mornings is the memory which is still the most prominent in the Wadham traditions of the time.

"Big Ben" then, as he was always called, was the prop and pillar of Evangelicalism in Oxford. His portrait (painted by Pickersgill) still looks down on the scholar's table from the east side of the college hall; but those who knew him say that the somewhat heavy and florid parson there represented is but a poor representation of the vigorous and hearty old gentleman whom they remember. There are so many stories afloat as to the Warden that it is difficult to realise him aright; but he seems, on the good side to have been a clear-headed, determined man of a pre-eminently English type, a thorough John Bull; while, on the bad side he certainly belonged to that type of worldly Evangelicalism which Thackeray so unmercifully satirised, a school of thought which in the first half of this century had soon succeeded to the heroic age of the Eighteenth Century Revival, and which attached so much importance to shibboleths and forms that the right pronunciation of these would excuse a large amount of real worldliness.

But Warden Symons was something more than what I have tried to describe him; he was a sound and accurate theologian of an old-fashioned but truly Anglican type. His "Articles" lectures, which have been already referred to, are said by those who carefully attended them to have been a most careful and thorough exposition of the views of the Fathers of the English Church, of such men as Waterland and Bull and Beveridge. Hence it seems certain that many

stories of the old Warden are only inventions, more or less happily set going by those who had no eyes for religious truth at all, or who had seen so much of his less attractive side that they could not conceive there was another. Such is his reported answer to an over curious person who asked why the Litany was never said on Sundays in Wadham chapel; "Sir, the Litany is appointed for the 11 o'clock service, and the 11 o'clock service is suspended." Such, too, is his remark as to the offertory in the college chapel, that "Gentlemen must really give a little more liberally; I have been quite out of pocket by the last two or three collections;" but the method of carrying away the alms, by which they were shovelled into the Warden's capacious pocket, is as well authenticated as it was unseemly in practice.

A word must also be said as to the Warden's wife, the only lady who has ever held that position in Wadham with the exception of Mrs. Wilkins, the wife of the great Warden of Commonwealth times. Mrs. Symons belonged to one of the families of wealthy city Evangelicals, but seems to have represented thoroughly the more spiritual, though somewhat formal, side of that school, which was perhaps lacking in her husband. Tradition has it that she at times rebuked the Warden for the worldliness of his conversation, as, *e.g.*, when after the funeral of the great Duke of Wellington in 1852, he was describing at breakfast to some undergraduates the countless throngs of people: "I wondered," he said, "where they could all get their breakfasts." "My dear," broke in Mrs. Symons, from the end of the table, "you ought rather to

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE WARDEN'S LODGINGS FROM THE NORTH

have wondered where they could get their spiritual food."

But she was also a true woman, who had the tact to save men from the difficulties into which they blundered. A good instance is the following: the Warden's habit of telling the same story over and over again was of course familiar in college; on one occasion at breakfast in the Lodgings, a helpless freshman, one of those who are born "to put their foot into it on every possible occasion," having heard the usual story, observed with a smile: "I was told, sir, you would tell us that story this morning." But before the Warden could sufficiently realise his own astonishment, Mrs. Symons wisely interposed with: "I am very glad to find the good Warden's words are so treasured in college."

Her influence on the life of Wadham must have been helpful to the few who were like-minded with her, but it certainly had its bad side. It may well be believed that her prayer meetings in the Warden's drawing-room were occasions of hypocrisy as well as of spiritual profit; that there were a few men, though only a few, who went to pray and came away to scoff, men who wished to stand well with the Warden and so went to Mrs. Symons' "tea and hassocks," as the gatherings were irreverently called. Interested conformity of this kind is the inevitable result, whether in a college or in wider spheres, as soon as it is once known that those in authority attach importance to certain forms and formulæ; it makes no difference whether these be Protestant or Catholic in character.

The Warden's theological views were a not un-

important element in the University history of the time. Under the Laudian Statutes, which still were in full force, the government of Oxford was practically vested in the Hebdomadal Board, composed of the heads of houses; the strongest men among these were Dr. Symons, Dr. Hawkins of Oriel, and Dr. Cardwell of Alban Hall. Hence the attitude which was assumed by those in power in the University towards the "Oxford Movement" was one of suspicion and dislike; it was not only feared for its "Romish" tendencies, but also suspected as an innovation, for, as Dr. Church humorously says, he was looked upon by the old-fashioned and elderly heads of houses "with a mixture of horror and contempt as a semi-papist and a young man." * This aversion to all change had been already shown in a quite different field. Warden Symons, like many others of the men who in the 'forties drove Newman out of the English Church, had in the previous decade been united with him and other Tractarians in the attack on the Broad-Churchism of Dr. Hampden.

The faults of temper, however, and the lack of charity were not all on one side; when Symons was appointed Vice-Chancellor in the ordinary course by the Duke of Wellington in 1844, an attempt was made by the extreme members of the "High Church" party to reject the Chancellor's nomination; but this attempt was with good reason defeated in an overflowing Convocation by a majority of 700 (883 to 183). It is not surprising that this crushing victory was followed by attempted reprisals. In the famous Con-

* "Life and Letters," p. 53. He was, as Proctor, a member of the Hebdomadal Board for a year.

vocation of February 13, 1845, resolutions were passed condemning Mr. Ward's notorious book, "The Ideal of a Christian Church," and depriving him of his degrees; the third resolution, censuring Tract No. XC., was vetoed by the Proctors, Guillemard and Church. So high did feeling run, that as the Vice-Chancellor left the Sheldonian Theatre, he was received with hisses and even, it is said, with snowballs.

This was not the only occasion on which the Evangelicalism of the Wadham authorities came into collision with the "Oxford Movement," and especially with Tract No. XC. When that famous pamphlet appeared in February 1841, it called forth a storm of disapprobation; its main contention that the articles of the Church of England admitted of a Catholic interpretation, and that they were directed simply against the Roman perversions of Catholic doctrine, was looked upon as threatening the very foundations of the English Church. One of the earliest and at once also one of the most important protests against it was that of four senior tutors, Churton of Brasenose College, Wilson of St. John's, Griffiths of Wadham (afterwards the Warden), and Tait of Balliol (afterwards the Archbishop). This protest, which condemns the tract because "it has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England," was mainly the work of Tait, but it was drawn up at a meeting held in Wadham. Its importance can hardly be exaggerated, for it was the first instance in Oxford of official condemnation of the Tractarian Movement,

and so it begins that separation which was to end in the secession of Newman and so many others from the English Church.

One curious result of Wadham Evangelicalism was the change of the hour of the Sunday services. Chapel had always been in the evening after dinner, but it was now transferred to the afternoon, in order (it was said) to prevent the undergraduates from attending the services at St. Mary's, where Sunday after Sunday, at 4 P.M., Newman was delivering that wonderful series of "Parochial Sermons" which in some ways were the most potent intellectual and spiritual influences of the new movement. The Warden's Articles lecture also was put at noon, in order to prevent the possibility of a long Sunday walk.

But it must not be thought that Wadham was entirely Evangelical in this stormy period. In Richard William Church it had the honour of training one of the leaders of the opposing party, and one who contrived to hold the strongest views himself without forfeiting the love and the esteem of his opponents; even Mark Pattison, who was beaten by him in the election for the Oriel fellowship in 1838, speaks well of him, and quotes the saying of his own rival Michell: "There is such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him." * Church notes that in the Wadham of his day there was a very pronounced Evangelical set, and a fast set; his own friends were "mostly men of no special colour"; but "all sets touched more or less, and met occasionally at wine-parties and breakfasts." †

* Pattison, "Memoirs," p. 163.

† "Life and Letters," p. 13. Dean Church maintained his in-

It sounds strange to our modern notions of organised tuition and cast-iron examination systems, that the first thing which made Church think of reading for honours was the fact that one of the Wadham tutors actually set him a piece of Greek prose in "Little-Go" ("Smalls"), in order to show his colleague what good commoners they had at Wadham.

Another prominent High Churchman in this period of Wadham history was Alexander Heriot Maconochie, the once famous Vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, who was in residence from 1844 to 1848. Maconochie seems to have been one of the most constant speakers at the College Debating Society, to judge by the old minutes. Among those immediately senior to him was the late Bishop of Wakefield, William Walsham How (1840–1845), whose portrait has just been added to the college collection. Among Wadham's many bishops, "the bishop of East London" will hold by no means the least prominent place.

One striking feature of the old Warden's devotion to Evangelicalism was his interest in missions; this was shown in a curious way. The cow which used to feed on the grass in the north part of the Warden's garden was "a missionary cow," belonging to Mrs. Symons, and gave its milk for that cause; those undergraduates who wished to support the C. M. S., or to stand well with

terest in his old college to the very end of his life. He left to the library some half-dozen specially selected choice books—mainly early editions of Hooker and Bacon. The authorities of Oriel College also, with the consent of Dr. Church's executors, kindly handed on to Wadham a number of the books left to them by the Dean, of which their library already had copies; the books thus received were mainly linguistic and historical.

the Warden, were served with this milk at a penny per quart above the market price. Among the most prominent of the men who went out from Wadham at this period was H. W. Fox, whose memory is perpetuated by a scholarship in India maintained by his old school, Rugby, and by a memoir from his brother's pen. This book has some interest for Wadham men from the information it gives as to the inner life of their college, but it is largely spoiled by the constant effort of its writer to force a moral.

The reign of Warden Symons at Wadham naturally falls into two parts, the interest of the earlier of which mainly centres in the "Oxford Movement," while the later begins with the rise of the Positivist school at Wadham in the middle of the century. It has already been attempted to describe the former period; before the latter is entered on, a word must be said as to another of the Wadham authorities, mentioned earlier in this chapter, John Griffiths, who, as sub-warden and deputy bursar from 1837 to 1853, had an influence in college second only to that of the old Warden. He is too well known to many still living for me to attempt to describe his character, or even to dwell on his wonderful kindness to all whom he knew, or on his extraordinary accuracy; but it would be impossible for any one to write even the shortest history of Wadham without some reference to his invaluable services to all students of that subject. He not only carefully arranged, and in many cases translated and copied, the bulk of the College documents; his wonderful knowledge of prints and his liberal purse were also employed in making the unique collection of engravings and medals

bearing on the history of the college itself, and of all who had been even remotely connected with it, which has been so often mentioned: these, with several other art treasures, he left to the college on his death in 1885. It was the hope of all Wadham men that Dr. Griffiths himself would write the history of their Alma Mater; but so great was his sense of the thoroughness with which the work should be done that, at the end of his long life, he was still only collecting materials and making preliminary studies. It is unfortunate that the only likeness which Wadham has of him is a crayon drawing by Watts, representing him as a comparatively young man; there is a copy of this in oils in the college hall.

It was during the earlier period of Warden Symons' reign that Wadham's famous breakfasting society, the "Beef Steak," was founded (February 1842). Its object was, according to the earliest copy of the rules, which dates before 1845, "the promotion of good fellowship by periodical meetings at breakfast." The now-established tradition of the society, that three of the members are elected mainly for athletic merit and three for intellectual, finds no place in the rules, but seems to have been observed from the first; among the earliest members, though not among the original six, was Walsham How.*

* From the first there has been a rigid sumptuary rule to check extravagance in the breakfasts, but originally it was beefsteaks and sausages that were allowed; kidneys were only admitted in the autumn of 1845 as an alternative to sausages when these were out of season. I grieve to say that I find several instances in the early minutes when mutton-chops were also introduced, though usually (but not always) under protest.

Though, as has been said, the long reign of Warden Symons divides into two periods, it must not be supposed that any hard-and-fast line distinguishes them; but the return of Richard Congreve from Rugby to Oxford may be said to be the beginning of the new period. This distinguished man had matriculated at Wadham in 1837, and obtained his first class in 1840; he was, however, for some years a master at Rugby, and did not begin work as a tutor in Wadham till about 1849; but he had never lost his connection with Oxford—*e.g.*, in the spring of 1848 Mozley records in his letters that Congreve came up from Rugby especially to fight the battle of Stanley's sermons against the librarian of the Oxford Union, J. W. Burgon (afterwards Dean of Chichester), who had refused the book a place on the society's shelves on the ground of its heterodoxy. Burgon and orthodoxy triumphed.

Congreve at this time, and for some years after, was still a member of the Church of England; his views, though broad, were comparatively orthodox, and his influence over his pupils was very great; the moral earnestness which marked his teaching makes his one published sermon of this period—that preached before the University on Whit-Sunday 1850—still well worth reading and very impressive. It is, to say the least, interesting and suggestive to find that "unbridled desire for enjoyment" and "systematic inattention to all those pursuits which could qualify" men for the work of life are denounced as characteristic of University men nearly half a century ago. But Congreve left Wadham and the English Church about the same time; he went down in 1854, and became a preacher of

the religion of Humanity, taught by Auguste Comte, of whom he was the earliest English adherent. He certainly did not directly employ his influence as tutor to influence the theological views of his pupils, but it can hardly have been an accident that almost all the leaders of the new movement were at Wadham under him, especially Frederic Harrison and Edward Spencer Beesley, who matriculated in 1849, and John Henry Bridges, who was elected scholar in June 1851, and became a fellow of Oriel in 1855. Congreve's commanding personality no doubt influenced those who had been brought into close contact with him. Wadham, it has always been admitted, was the original home of English Positivism.

During the short period of his second residence in the University, Congreve had made himself a position as one of the foremost tutors of the time ; he had some share in the change at Oxford which was transforming the old system of lectures, given to Pass and Class men together, into the modern system of close personal supervision by essays and otherwise, which has been for the last forty years so striking a feature in Oxford. In this he may be put by the side of Jowett at Balliol and Pattison at Lincoln.

Congreve, as might be expected, belonged to the reforming party in the University, whose efforts were at length crowned with success by the appointment of the University Commission in August 1850 ; the transformation of Laudian Oxford was carried out in the following years, and in 1855 Modern Oxford may be said to begin. But the change was much less marked at Wadham than elsewhere; the most important altera-

tions of statute in our college were the abolition of the few local restrictions that had been placed on the choice of scholars, and of the privileges of Founder's kin. The fellowships also were thrown open to competition from the whole University, but no election took place under the new statute for more than ten years; it was only in June 1867 that the first open fellow, the present Sub-Warden, was elected from Balliol—a most happy beginning for the new system. One at least of the changes has been only temporary—that by which the tenure of fellowships was extended for life, so long as the holder remained single; by this change the direct object of the Founder, who had no wish to have permanent fellows on his foundation, was frustrated. The last University Commission—that which issued its statutes in 1882—has undone the work of its predecessor, and has returned, in idea at any rate, to the intentions of Nicholas Wadham. It is a tribute to the far-sightedness of the Founder of our college that the great changes made in other colleges—*i.e.*, the abolition of clerical restrictions or of local limitations—were not required at all, or only required very partially at Wadham.

One sad result of the change which had passed over Oxford was the alienation of the old Warden from the foundation over which he ruled, an alienation which became somewhat marked towards the close of his long term of office;* but there is no doubt that the years of

* No doubt this was the cause why, though he had accumulated a very large fortune, he only left his college £1000; the interest on this sum was to be employed for founding an exhibition for the best commoner in residence; it is in the gift of the Warden from year to year.

transition were among the most glorious in the history of the college. In no previous decade of its existence, not even in the days of Warden Wilkins himself, did Wadham produce more men of mark than in the ten years which succeed Warden Symons' appointment as Vice-Chancellor (*i.e.*, 1845–1854). It is during this period that the brilliant group of Positivist essayists and historians mentioned above (p. 185) were admitted; but not less distinguished were Wadham's contributions to the Church. Walter Waddington Shirley (matriculated 1847) was one of the foremost of the Oxford school of historians which begins in the 'forties; his premature death at the age of thirty-eight, only three years after his appointment to the chair of Ecclesiastical History, prevented him from fulfilling his promise, but he had already had time to put on a new basis the study of English history in the fourteenth century.*

* Dr. Shirley's portrait must be sought at Keble; in the movement for lessening the expenses of a University education, which ultimately led to the foundation of that college, he had played a prominent part. I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to his memory if I reproduce here one of the most successful of Commemoration jokes, of which he, with two other Wadham men, was the author; even after fifty years it can be read with some amusement.

Every one still remembers that the years 1848 and 1849 were years of revolution; hence it can be imagined how effective was the following squib which was posted everywhere, and showered broadcast, at the Encaenia of 1849; the joke was pointed the more by the efforts of one of the pro-proctors of the year to suppress it:

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

"CITIZEN ACADEMICIANS,

"The cry of Reform has been too long unheard. Our infatuated rulers refused to listen to it, the term of their tyranny is at length accomplished. The Vice-Chancellor has fled on horseback, the Proctors have resigned their usurped authority, the Scouts have

Distinguished in a different way and in different climes were two men who still survive, Edward Ralph Johnson (matriculated 1847), Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India from 1876 to 1898, and Robert Henry Codrington (matriculated 1848),the missionary and philologer, whose name is familiar to all interested in the South Seas, whether their interest be religious, linguistic or scientific. The portraits of both these men hang in the college hall.

To the University of Oxford at this time Wadham gave the present Warden, George Earlam Thorley (matriculated 1849), and the late Principal of Brasenose College, Albert Watson (matriculated 1847), the well-known editor of "Cicero's Letters"; and in Thomas Charles Baring, Wadham reared for Magdalen Hall a second founder, who for wealth and generosity may be compared to Nicholas Wadham himself. Baring was himself a good scholar, and published a poetical translation of Lucretius.

fraternised with the friends of liberty. The University is no more. A Republic Lyceum will henceforth diffuse light and civilisation. The Hebdomadal Board is abolished. The Legislative Powers will be entrusted to a General Convention of the whole Lyceum. A Provisional Government has been established. The undersigned citizens have nobly devoted themselves to the task of administration.

"(*Signed*) CITIZEN CLOUGH.
(*President of the Executive Council.*)
SEWELL.
BOSSOM. (*Operative.*)
JOHN CONINGTON.
WRIGHTSON. (*Queen's.*)

FLOREAT LYCEUM."

The names of Clough, Sewell (the founder of University Extension, of Radley College, and of so many other things), and Conington, are still familiar; so too in a different connection is that of Bossom.

James Andrew (matriculated 1848) was a worthy successor of Sydenham in Sydenham's old college, and Benjamin Bickley Rogers (1846) has won for himself a lasting reputation, among scholars at all events, for the wonderful vigour and fidelity of his translations of Aristophanes: may he soon complete his work. Last in time, but far from last in distinction, is Thomas Graham Jackson, the architect, who has had in Oxford such an opportunity for his work as may almost be compared with that which his predecessor Wren had in London after the Great Fire of 1666. It may safely be said that no other architect at any period has had a hand in so many college and university buildings, and the hackneyed quotation may once more be used of him with the greatest truth—"*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.*"

During this period too Wadham lost by migration John Henry Overton, the historian of the Church of England, who went as scholar to Lincoln College in 1853, and the future Cabinet Minister, Hugh Culling Eardley Childers, who, after two years at Wadham, migrated to Trinity College, Cambridge.

Since 1855, it cannot be said that Wadham has been so productive of distinguished men, and it becomes increasingly difficult to speak of a period of which, fortunately, the surviving representatives are so numerous; but no Wadham man will quarrel with me if I single out for mention as representatives of the last decade of Warden Symons, Samuel Augustus Barnett (matriculated 1862), so well known as the Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and as the founder of the University Settlement Movement, and Francis John Jayne

(matriculated 1863), the present Bishop of Chester. In 1871 Warden Symons resigned, and the present generation of college life begins. Here then our story may end.

But a word must be said as to the changes in the fabric at this period, which were, in the chapel at any rate, both numerous and important. The Gothic Revival went hand in hand with the Oxford Movement, and the former penetrated at Wadham though the latter was excluded, so far as authority could exclude it. In the very first year of Dr. Symons' Wardenship (1831) it was resolved, at the college meeting on St. Nicholas Day, to consult the well-known architect Mr. Blore. Fortunately Wadham did not, like Exeter and Balliol, sacrifice its old chapel altogether to please the Gothic purists; but the year 1832 saw more changes than had been caused by the two preceding centuries. In the first place the old boarded ceiling, "divided into panels with rosettes at the intersections,"* gave way to the present four-centred ceiling of stucco, painted to resemble oak. The change certainly gives more warmth, but it had the unexpected effect, from the greater weight of the new roof, of forcing the side walls of the chapel out of the perpendicular. Fortunately this was discovered in time (1889), and remedied by the insertion of the present iron tie-rods; but in this, as in other cases at Wadham, it was the injudicious tampering with the old work which made repairs necessary in buildings which time had failed to injure.

* One of these, the only survivor of the original roof, can still be seen in the summer-house at the N.W. corner of the Warden's garden.

In the next place Mr. Blore swept away the curious painting, fixed on cloth with a hot iron, which stood originally over the altar at Wadham; it represented the Lord's Supper in the centre, with Old Testament types on each side, and was the work of a well-known artist named Fuller. In its place the "restorer" inserted the present stone panelled work, which, though very hard for and formal in its details, is yet surprisingly good the time when it was inserted. Other minor changes were the addition of new seats and the casing and alteration of the old ones (p. 17), and the removal of the pulpit* to the ante-chapel.

But more important was the rearrangement of the glass, which was carried out at Mr. Blore's suggestion in 1833 or 1834; at this time the figures of the Apostles were moved from the windows on the South side and placed in the upper and lower lights of the two East windows—one on the North and the other on the South—thus forming a kind of sacrarium at the East end of the chapel. The vacant spaces on the South side were filled by two windows of late sixteenth century Flemish glass, which had been once at Louvain, and which were bought by the Warden in Bond Street.

Thus the chapel remained till 1885, when the Apostles were restored to their original places, and

* It is strange that Warden Symons, with his Evangelical leanings, attached so little importance to the pulpit. For some time after 1832 sermons were still preached from the reading-desks, but these gradually dwindled down to one on Easter Day, and even that had disappeared before the old Warden resigned. It is much to be desired that in this, as in other chapel matters, the changes of Warden Symons' days should be undone.

the foreign glass was put in the upper lights of the two most easterly windows (North and South). The money for this "restoration" (in the real sense) was obtained in a curious way. Between 1837 and 1840 there had been a subscription to glaze the windows of the ante-chapel, as will be described immediately; of the sum raised about £200 remained, when the work was completed, unspent in the hands of the treasurer, Dr. Griffiths; its very existence was forgotten, but it was carefully nursed by him, and in 1885, having now amounted to more than £1200, it was handed over to the college, with the special request that it might be employed in the first place to undo the work which had been done with the bulk of the original subscription. It is not often that the progress of taste can be so clearly traced.

Of the windows in the ante-chapel, the four West ones were filled by Evans of Shrewsbury, between 1837 and 1840, with glass of the true "early Victorian" style; these remain as they were, though two of them were fortunately covered up by the organ and are invisible. The other six windows were glazed with "heavily matted grisaille quarries," in which were inserted the arms of the various subscribers; these too have been "restored" out of Dr. Griffiths' fund, the dull glass has been replaced by clear glass, while the scutcheons have been retained. Thus the ante-chapel is once more properly lighted, and the artistic effect of the windows is greatly improved. The fund which the college thus owed to Dr. Griffiths' care and skill, was also employed in completing and casing the organ, and building the present organ loft; this was done in 1886 from the

designs of Mr. Jackson.* About the same time (1887) the old side entrance to the chapel from the passage to the gardens was reopened on ordinary use, and the main entrance from the quad closed; the result is a great gain in artistic effect, the beauty and dignity of the chapel are only gradually revealed instead of being displayed all at once, and the ante-chapel, by its severity of style, prepares the eye for the more elaborate work beyond the screen.

* The organ was built in 1878, under the direction of the then chaplain, Rev. J. C. Hanbury, who had a large share in raising the money for it. It is considered one of the best of its size in Oxford.

CHAPTER XII

WADHAM ATHLETICS

The present devotion to all forms of athletic sports is, as has been said, a growth of our own century, in fact of the latter half of it. The very word itself is a witness of this, for down to 1850 at all events, "sports" still continued to mean not rowing, cricket and football, but hunting, shooting and fishing; hence inter-collegiate competitions only begin in the third decade of the century, preceding inter-University competitions by a few years. In the early days of the century boating was a common amusement, but was not systematised; clubs, however, began to be formed, at first independently of college limits, and before 1810 their members distinguished themselves by a special uniform.* At this time six-oar boats were used, but eights were introduced very soon after. Racing is said to have been begun in the following way. The various crews rowed down to Sandford or Nuneham to dine,

* Cox, p. 54. He claims to have belonged to the first club which had a special dress—a green leather cap with jacket and trousers of nankeen.

and, returning together, raced from Iffley to Oxford. As they could not row abreast, the system of "bumping" was naturally introduced at once; but at first all the boats were shut up together in Iffley Lock, and started in succession. The start was effected in the following way; stroke stood upon the thwart of bow* and then ran along, pushing the boat out as he went till he reached his own, dropped on to it, and began to row. Each boat therefore was allowed as much start as the skill of its stroke could gain for it. This very primitive method of starting was used in 1822 and in 1824, but in 1825 the boats were arranged in a line along the bank.

There is no record of a Wadham boat, however, during this early period; but rowing seems to have been vigorously begun in college, at any rate very early in the 'thirties. The earliest surviving accounts are for 1837, but the account-book is labelled "Bk. II." In 1837 a new boat and two sets of oars were bought for £75, not to mention sundries; the boat was sold in less than two years for £10. After this it is not surprising to find financial difficulties appearing, as has always been the case with college boat clubs; but in spite of these a boat was sent to Henley in 1840, and W. J. Dry, of Wadham, rowed six in an Oxford boat, which beat Cambridge at the Thames Regatta in 1844. There was no regular inter-University race in that year.

In 1845 a new set of minutes is started in splendid

* It need hardly be said that the racing boats of those days were very broad in the beam; one or two specimens survived in the Procession of Boats till about 1870.

style with the record of a meeting on February 15, at which it was resolved to found a boat club in college. As, however, a captain and a crew are spoken of in the minutes as already existing, it is evident that the club was rather reconstituted than formed. This new start is the beginning of the most glorious time in Wadham rowing; for three years running, 1848–50, the University Sculls were won by two Wadham men, David Wauchope and John Erskine Clarke, of whom the former also rowed bow for the University in 1849. Both of them were members of the famous Wadham Eight of 1849, which swept the board at Henley, winning both the Grand and the Ladies' Challenge Cups. The following account of the race was contributed to the *Wadham College Gazette** for March 1898 by one of the crew, the Rev. Canon Erskine Clarke, who has just been mentioned.

HENLEY GRAND REGATTA, 1849.

"The Regatta of 1849 was the eleventh Annual Regatta on that charming reach. In 1849 it was fixed so early in the year that the Oxford term was not over. Only the Second Trinity, Cambridge, had entered for the Grand Challenge and the Ladies' Challenge at the date fixed for closing. As this would have robbed the Regatta of its chief feature, the eight-oared races, the Committee, with the consent of Second Trinity, allowed post-entries, and the Wadham and the Oriel Eights were entered, being the second and fifth boats on the river. As there was doubt whether the College authorities would let the men go to Henley, the Wadham boat was entered as *The St. John of Malta*,† and

* This paper was started in October 1887.

† The Maltese cross is still the Wadham badge.

the crew under pseudonyms—the Captain, W. H. Humphery, figuring as W. H. Duke, and the Secretary, D. Wauchope, as D. Niddrie, the name of his Scotch home. The Oriel boat also entered as *N.O.B.C.*, and the crew had pseudonyms.

"On Monday, June 11, the crew attended their lectures up to 2, and then started in a drag with four post-horses at 2.30, dining at Benson on the way, and getting to Henley at 5. They had not been over the course before the race. The Ladies' Challenge Cup was rowed on the first day. Wadham won the toss and had best station. The race is thus described in *Bell's Life*—the one sporting weekly paper of those days.

"'A beautiful start was effected, and for the first quarter of a mile the three boats were oar and oar—after this Oriel tailed off slightly, but continued to the finish to put on most plucky spurts. Trinity and Wadham worked on to Remenham: first one rose in front and then the other, but at the Poplars Wadham's steering told, and they began to draw their boat away slowly but surely, and on passing the winning-post, were about a boat's length clear of the Cantabs. Oriel were about two lengths behind the second boat. It was a most spirit-stirring race, and the crews rowed beautifully and most determinedly throughout, amid the vociferous cheering of vast numbers who ran along the meadows, many of them from start to finish, when some were so "blown" that they had to recline on the hillocks of hay till they could regain their wind.' There was not a single house-boat in those days. There was much cheering and excitement when the drag got back to College about ten.

"The next day the order of proceedings was the same. In the draw for stations for the Grand Challenge, the Second Trinity had the first place, and Wadham the second.

"In the report of the race it is written: 'Wadham and Trinity continued almost oar and oar till they passed the bay above Remenham Church and were nearing the Poplar point, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, when Wadham was a trifle in advance. At this juncture the Trinity coxswain, who had for some hundred yards been gradually *boring* Wadham into the middle of the stream, made what might be called a rank steer, and the consequence was a foul; but as there was plenty of room on each side of each boat (for Oriel was a length or two behind), both went at it "hammer and tongs," the Cantabs with an advantage of about half a boat's length, and a race then ensued than which a more gallant struggle has seldom been seen at Henley or on any other water. Wadham soon picked up their lost ground, and nose and nose was again the order of the day up to within fifty yards from home, when Cambridge put on a terrific burst, the effects of which Wadham were unable to counteract: and Cambridge passed the post first, having drawn about a third of their boat clear. The Cantabs were in ecstasies at the result, but alas! it was only to be disappointed, as Wadham claimed the foul, which was at once given in their favour by the umpire, Mr. Fellows, of the Leander, without any hesitation—indeed it was impossible that any other decision could have been given in so clear a case. The pace throughout was slashing, the time being from 7 minutes 30 seconds to 8 minutes, and it was, if not the fastest, at least one of the fastest races that have been rowed over Henley reach.'

"As there had been no trial heat for the Grand Challenge, the Wyfold Cup went with it, and the College for the year held the three cups, which were valued at £200: viz., 'The Ladies',' the 'Grand Challenge,' and the 'Wyfold.' The Wyfold is now given for four-oar races. The drag did

not reach the College on the second night till half-past twelve, but the Sub-Warden of the time, John Griffiths, had much sympathy with rowing men, and so the lateness of the 'Gate' was condoned; indeed, the achievements of the crew were celebrated by a grand supper in Hall on the Thursday evening."*

I have heard from other contemporaries that the old Warden was more sympathetic than the above account might show; it was he personally who gave the use of the hall for the entertainment of the beaten Cambridge crew, only stipulating that there should be "no hot lush."

The names of this famous crew were as follows:

Bow. O. Ogle.
2. J. Semple.
3. A. M. Sugden.
4. E. R. Johnson.
5. W. H. Humphery (Captain).
6. J. E. Clarke.
7. H. Hodgson.
8. D. Wauchope.
Cox. C. E. Ranken.

It speaks well for the healthiness of rowing that, after fifty years, all of the crew but two are alive and in good health; of these two exceptions one was killed by an accident; and the subsequent careers of the crew have been worthy of their early success. E. R. Johnson has been already mentioned as the late dis-

* There is no foundation for the college tradition that Wadham adopted its light blue colours on account of this victory over Cambridge; on the contrary, I have heard from contemporaries that light blue was the college colour before 1849.

tinguished Bishop of Calcutta; the captain became an M.P., a baronet and a K.C.B.; J. Erskine Clarke has been for many years one of the leading clergy in South London; O. Ogle, after winning the Vinerian Scholarship, was elected a fellow of Lincoln, and was a considerable authority on the history of Oxford; C. E. Ranken was the founder of the University Chess Club.

The great race has been commemorated in Wadham by the Henley Cup, which was given at the time, and quite recently by the presentation to the boat club of a trophy made out of the Henley medals of several members of the crew, and of the silver oars which were presented to them by the college as memorials.*

After this brilliant success on other waters the Wadham boat went head of the river at Oxford in 1850; it then fell rapidly, but rose as rapidly, and in 1856 was again head. At this time it was stroked by Mr. J. T. Thorley, who for three years (1856–1858) was also the stroke o the University boat. Mr. T. G. Jackson, who was then a scholar of the college (p. 189), rowed in it.

For the next ten years Wadham still kept a high place on the river, though it never could quite get head again. To this period belong the names of H. E. Medlicott and W. Robertson, who rowed three and four for the University in 1861, and of C. R. Carr who was seven in the winning boats at Putney of 1862 and 1863; S. O. B. Ridsdale, too, was cox. for Oxford in 1861, and T. R. Finch won the University Sculls in that

* The Boat Club owes this most interesting memorial to the kind thought and care of Dr. Johnson and Canon Erskine Clarke; it was presented at the Wadham Dinner in London on June 30, 1898, and now hangs in the Junior Common Room. This was founded in 1888.

year. In 1866 the College boat was fourth on the river; but that of 1867, in which the present Bishop of Chester rowed, was the last of Wadham's great eights;* after this year the boat fell rapidly into the second division, and has remained there ever since with the single exception of 1873, when it was tenth. During the reign of Dr. Griffiths as Warden (1871–1881) athletics were very far from flourishing at Wadham; the sole representative of the college during this decade in the world of "blues" was W. F. A. Lambert, who was cox. to the University boat in 1874. And the college, after going to the bottom of the river in 1877, "took off," and had no boat on at all in 1878 and 1880. Since then the position of the eight has been a little better, and Wadham has had two more "blues" in W. St. L. Robertson, who rowed in 1886, and T. A. Cook, the author of *Old Touraine*, in 1889; both these rowed three. The former is interesting as one of the few instances of the son of a "blue" himself becoming a "blue" in the next generation; he was the son of W. Robertson who rowed in 1861.

In 1886 the College Boat Club cleared off its long outstanding debt to Salter, and began to hire a barge. A good position was assigned to this by the Thames Conservancy, close to the new mouth of the Cherwell. A barge more worthy of this place was secured last year (1897)† by the liberality of past and present members of the College, and the crew are now housed for the first

* There is an interesting account of Wadham boating at this period in a story called "Boating Life at Oxford," which appeared in *London Society* for April 1867.

† The barge was built in Oxford by R. A. Talboys.

time in quarters of their own, which, in convenience at all events, are equal to any on the river. It is the earnest hope of all Wadham men that the new home may bring new energy into the boating, and that the long spell of misfortune may be at last broken.*

No other Oxford sport stands on the same footing as boating; the fame of a brilliant eleven or fifteen is only a memory in the next season, while the success of a boat leaves a permanent memorial in places gained on the river. And what is far more important, boating calls out to a much greater extent than any other sport those qualities of self-denial and endurance, of subordination to a common end and obedience, which are the real glories of English athletics. Hence it could be said with certainty, at any rate till quite recently, and I hope can be said still, that in "the river" the whole of a college is interested, while it is only sections who care for cricket or football. Something, however, must be recorded as to Wadham's performances in these fields also.

The inter-University cricket match dates from 1827,

* I believe that success on the river is largely a matter of energy and character, and therefore I attach the greatest importance to the position of a college boat; but I hope that old Wadham men will pardon me if I say that the whole condition of things aquatic has changed since the sixties. In the first place our college, though absolutely larger than it has ever been, is relatively smaller, owing to the increase of numbers at Oxford generally, and to the growth of large colleges; and secondly, rowing has become a much more specialised pursuit; the introduction of slides has made it more scientific, and the headship of the river is determined, not by the energy of a college's life, but by the number of trained oars which it gets up from the rowing schools, especially from Eton.

but only becomes regular in 1838; it was some time before Wadham was represented, but in 1858 and 1859 Henry Linton played, and his brother Sidney in 1861 and 1862; the latter was afterwards Bishop of Riverina; both brothers died in their prime serving England abroad, in Madras and in Australia. There was another Wadham man with the younger Linton in the eleven of 1862, S. O. B. Ridsdale, who kept wicket; he had also been the cox. of the University eight in the previous year. He, too, died in India after a distinguished career as a civil servant.

But it is in our own day that Wadham has been best represented in the eleven. Wadham had two representatives in Kemp's all-victorious team of 1884, H. V. Page and E. W. Bastard; they had both played in the previous year, 1883, and were respectively Captain and Secretary in the following year, 1885; Page was also Captain in 1886. The long stand made by them in 1885, when they put on some sixty runs for the last wicket, may rank among the "events to be remembered" in inter-University cricket; they could not save the game, but they made it interesting once more, when it had seemed to be a mere "Oxford collapse." Page, in fact, though purists said he was "no cricketer," was one of the most useful men who have ever represented the Dark Blues; he positively revelled in a crisis, and was never more like to pull a ball round to leg for four than when the bowler had good reason to think his break from the off was unplayable. Page also played in the Rugby fifteen in 1885.

Wadham has had another Captain of the eleven since Page in the world-famous C. B. Fry, who played from

1892 to 1895, and was Captain in 1894—the year in which he was also President of the O.U.A.C., and Captain of the "Socker" XI.; as he made his century at Lord's, and his side won a brilliant victory, it was the crowning success of the most brilliant athletic year which has ever fallen to the lot of an undergraduate. Fry was not only a triple "blue," but he represented the University doubly at the Queen's Club, in the Hundred and in the Broad Jump;* and in the latter event in 1892 he surpassed himself and the world's record by clearing 23 ft. 5 in.†

Fry won his three blues in his first year (1891–92), and kept them till his last year (1894–1895); in this he seemed certain at one time to secure a fourth blue—for Rugby football; an unlucky knee, however, at the last moment prevented his playing against Cambridge. But even for the University Fry probably never played more brilliantly than he did for his College in the Final of the Association Cup Tie in 1893, when Wadham nearly wrested the cup from Magdalen. Till within the last quarter of an hour Wadham was ahead, and nothing seemed able to break down the stubborn defence of the two backs, Fry and Lister (now a member of her Majesty's Civil Service in India); but then Magdalen scored twice in ten minutes, and kept the cup by two goals to one.

In the athletic sports, when first established, Wadham was prominent. In the earliest meeting, that of 1864,

* In 1892 also he competed for both the High and the Broad jumps.

† This remains a University record, and is likely to do; but it has been since beaten both in England and in America.

S. B. Darbyshire won both the hundred and the quarter, while Wadham also furnished Oxford's second string, H. Skelton, for both hurdle races. In 1865, 1868, and 1869 Wadham was also represented; but then came a long interval, which was only broken when G. C. Lindsay, of Rugby football fame, ran the quarter in 1886. Since then F. J. Sadler and W. S. Lee have both represented the University in the three miles; the latter made a sensation when in 1894 he all but beat the Cambridge crack Horan, who had been supposed to be invincible, in the last lap after a very fast race.

Football, compared with cricket and athletics, is but a thing of yesterday; but in the judgment of many it is the sport of the day. Wadham was well represented in the great teams of the early 'eighties by G. C. Lindsay, who played three-quarter back from 1882 to 1885, and was captain in the last-named year. He was extraordinarily successful with his drop kicks, and was very fast, though almost too light for a three-quarter in some respects. With him in the team of 1885 played F. C. Cousins, as well as H. V. Page. Since then R. B. Littlewood (1893) has been the only Rugby blue from Wadham; but the college team has maintained (since the beginning of the 'nineties) the reputation of being one of the strongest in the University.

Perhaps it may interest old members of the college to add that since October 1885 the athletic clubs have been united so far as finance is concerned; one subscription is paid for all, and a permanent treasurer has been appointed. Hitherto the result has been financial

solvency and a more equally distributed pressure of burdens.

It may seem somewhat unworthy to end the chronicle of a learned foundation with athletic records, but the colleges of Oxford have always been much beside learned foundations. They are the homes of generation after generation of young Englishmen for the four happiest years of their lives; and where the young Englishman is, there sport must take a prominent place. And there is reason in this; the object of athletics is not to break "records," or even to train "blues"; these are but the means by which interest is kept up; if ever they become the ends of sport, and if games are given over to a number of professional amateurs who perform while the rest of the world looks on, then athletics become purely mischievous. That there is a tendency to this few would deny; but it is only a tendency at present, and it may still be confidently maintained that sport more than any other pursuit reveals man to man and links them together; it trains the body to the greatest activity and endurance; but it also trains the temper: it teaches honourable observance of rules, it enforces self-control. It is for these reasons that sport in its various forms is held by many of us to be one of the great educating influences of Oxford; and because of this it has a right to a place in the history of a college, and still more because it breeds the keenest patriotism.

It is this last, it is the love of the old foundation, which makes a college history worth writing. If this decays, then colleges cannot prosper, and their story

will be forgotten. But there is no sign of this; on the contrary, the words of the old Puritan, Samuel Lee, are still appropriate: "I have generally observed I know not what genius (may I so term it) or affectionate tincture to run in the veins of such as have been bred at Wadham." This has been true for nearly three centuries. May it ever continue to be true.

APPENDICES

I.—THE COLLEGE LIBRARY

[N.B.—Under the head "Library" in the Index will be found a number of references to other rare or interesting books, which have been mentioned in the history of the college.]

The most valuable portion of the college library, as has been said, is that bequeathed by Richard Warner. Besides his scientific tastes, he specialised in English Literature; in the list of books mentioned below I have added a "w" to those given by him.

Of pre-Reformation English literature we have rare early editions of—

Piers Plowman, 1550 (w).

Gower's *Confessio Amantis*,* 1554 (w).

Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, 1570 (w).

Of the sixteenth-century literature there are:

Sir T. More's *Utopia* (First Edition), (w), and the first collected edition of More's English works, 1557.

Some poetical tracts of Skelton (on vellum), (w).

Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1598.

* Of this there is also a valuable fifteenth-century MS.

Spenser's *Faerie* Queene* (First Edition, 1590, containing only three books).

Of the sixteenth-century history there are first editions of Hall (two copies, 1548 and 1550), and Holinshed, 1577—all Warner's, and one volume of Pynson's *Froissart*, 1525.

But the most fascinating book is the first edition of Hariot's account of Raleigh's Colony in Virginia (printed at Frankfort by De Bry in 1590); in this and in the accompanying account of the French in Florida there are the most wonderful pictures of the natives, their manners and customs.

Of Reformation theology there are an incomplete copy of Latimer's Sermons, 1549 (w), no less than three copies of Cranmer's *Treatise on the Sacrament* (1550) against Gardiner, and Hooper's *Comfortable Expositions* (published 1580, though written during his imprisonment). There is also a unique collection of the various editions of the Homilies of the Church of England, which was bequeathed by Dr. Griffiths. Of seventeenth-century literature, beside the four folios of Shakespeare (p. 146), there are first editions of *Paradise Lost* 1669 (w), and *Paradise Regained*, 1671, (w) and of some of Milton's prose works, and of Beaumont and Fletcher (1647; also that of 1679). Webster is represented by a first edition of *The White Devil*, 1612 (w), and Drayton by that of the *Polyolbion*, 1613.

There is abundance, too, of the eighteenth-century literature, but it is impossible to dwell on it. The only other English books I can mention are the charming collection of many of the first editions of Dickens, of Thackeray and of Tennyson, which have come to the college this year by

* There is also a copy of the second edition 1596, and the 1609 edition of Spenser's collected works; these two are both from Warner.

the bequest of the widow of Henry King, our late senior fellow.

Of Bibles there are some of considerable interest. Besides Cranmer's Great Bible (p. 99), there are Daye's Bible of 1549 (which is in the main the same as Mathews' Bible);* the Geneva Bible (1562, (w); this is the "Breeches Bible"), the Bishop's Bible (1568), the "Treacle Bible," *cf.* Jer. viii. 22); one volume of the Roman Catholic version —the Douai Bible, 1609; and the Authorised Version of 1611 (a splendid folio).

There are also copies of the Hebrew Bible of R. Stephens, four volumes, 1539–1544, and his Greek Testament of 1550, with fine folios of the Sixtine Septuagint (1587) and of the Sixtine Vulgate (1592); both these last came from Dr. Bisse (p. 37).

Of early editions of classical books there are, of course, plenty. The earliest is a splendid folio of S. Jerome's *Letters* printed at Rome in 1468; this was given in the last century by W. Baynton of Gray's Inn, a descendant of the Founder's family, who also presented several other handsome volumes.† There is too a beautiful *Cæsar* (w), printed at Venice in 1471. The most interesting classic in some respects is the Aldine *Euripides* (w) of 1503, which has the autograph and conjectures of the great Dutch scholar, Nicholas Heinsius. The collection of Elizabethan translations of the classics is both numerous and rare.

There are also one or two splendid specimens of the modern printing of Greek: the large paper edition of the Grenville *Homer* seems to me the most beautiful Greek book

* It is erroneously lettered "Tyndale's Bible." It begins with lists of the "wicked men of the O. T.," the "wicked men of the N. T.," and other curious tables.

† Especially the *Nuremburg Chronicle* (1493), in the original binding; it is full of curious woodcuts.

which I know, but it is usually considered to be surpassed by another Clarendon Press book, Tyrwhitt's *Poetics of Aristotle;* this, in the large paper edition, was considered to be the finest specimen of Greek printing ever executed in Oxford.*

Of foreign classics may be mentioned a very curious Boccaccio de Claris Mulieribus, printed at Ulm in 1473; it has hand-painted wood-cuts of the roughest kind. Warner also left us a fine copy of the Petrarch of 1490, a splendid edition with illustrations and an excellent text.

I have not mentioned a tithe of the books which have some bibliographic value, either for their rarity or their age, still less the even more numerous class of scholars' books, which are full of interest to any one who cares to watch and study the gradual progress of knowledge; but I have mentioned more than enough for the interest of a casual reader. One word, however, must be said as to MSS. The College is too modern to have many of these; only fifty-three are mentioned by Coxe, but his list is not complete. The finest by far is an early sixteenth-century Flemish missal of large folio size, made for an abbot of the Premonstratensian Order. The illuminations are very rich, and the book is in excellent preservation.

[In this appendix I have borrowed largely from the appendix on the library contributed by Mr. E. Gordon Duff to Mr. Jackson's book (pp. 198–200). The writing of this is the very least of the many services which Mr. Duff has rendered to the Wadham library.]

* This copy—one of thirty printed—has a special interest, as it belonged to Parsons (p. 161), who saw it through the press, and was given by him to Warden Tournay, who in turn left it to the college.

II.—PORTRAITS IN HALL AND ELSEWHERE

[In every case I have begun on the left, and have mentioned the lower portrait before that hanging above it.]

SOUTH WALL:

1. The Founder.
2. The Foundress.

(pp. 6; 43). Painted by Sonmans, probably from the original in the Warden's Lodgings.

WEST WALL:

3. J. Griffiths, eighteenth Warden (p. 182). Painted by W. E. Miller from the drawing by Watts in the Warden's lodgings.
4. Dr. Lushington, scholar. 1728.
5. G. E. Thorley, the present Warden. Painted in 1889 by John Collier.
6. Sir John Strangeways, donor of the East window in chapel (p. 54).
7. King James I. (bought in the present century). Painted by Van Somer.
8. King William III.
9. King George I.

(p. 114).

10. J. Wills, fifteenth Warden (p. 154). Painted by Hoppner.
11. T. Creech, Poet (p. 99). Copied by Joseph Smith of Oxford, from the portrait by Sumner in the Bodleian.
12. W. Walsham How, Bishop of Wakefield (p. 181). Painted in 1897, by Hugh Norris.
13. John Medley, Metropolitan of Canada (p. 164).
14. E. R. Johnson, Metropolitan of India (p. 188). Painted in 1897 by F. E. Calderon.

15. R. H. Codrington, Missionary and Philologer (p. 188). Painted by W. E. Miller.
16. S. Lisle, twelfth Warden (p. 134).
17. G. Ironside, eighth Warden (p. 95).
18. T. Dunster, ninth Warden(p.116).

North Wall :

19. The Founder.
20. The Foundress.

Between them hangs the large picture of

21. John Lord Lovelace (p. 102), by Marcellus Laroon.

East Wall :

22. R. Wright, first Warden (p. 29).
23. W. Smyth, third Warden (p. 31).
24. J. Wilkins, sixth Warden (p. 74).
25. W. Blandford, seventh Warden (p. 62).
26. Sir Christopher Wren, Architect. Copied by J. Smith from a picture in the Theatre.
27. R. Blake, Admiral, which represents Blake when a young man (p. 41). This picture was bought by the College in 1826 from a Mr. Rodd, who had obtained it from the well-known picture dealer, Barker of Northampton; it had come with other good portraits from the Manor House, Market Bosworth. Its authenticity, therefore, rests on tradition, which may be said to be confirmed by internal evidence; though the features decidedly resemble those in the well-known portraits of Blake as admiral, and as a man of middle age, yet the difference between these portraits and the Wadham picture is sufficiently great to make it unlikely that the tradition is based on internal evidence only.
28. J. Goodridge (p. 87), Benefactor.

29. W. Baker, tenth Warden (p. 132).
30. T. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester (p. 77). Copied in 1825 by J. Smith, from the portrait in the Bodleian by Dahl (?).
31. Thomas Lord Wyndham (p. 144), Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Benefactor.
32. Lord Wynford, Chief Justice of Common Pleas.
33. Sir John Pratt (p. 103), Lord Chief Justice of England.
34. H. Hody (p. 121), Regius Professor of Greek and Benefactor. Painted by Forster.
35. Arthur Onslow (p. 128), Speaker of the House of Commons.
36. John Parsons (p. 161), Master of Balliol. A copy of the portrait in Balliol Hall by William Owen.
37. James Harris (p. 143), author of *Hermes*. This picture has always been considered in College to be by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and tradition in such a case is very trustworthy. It was engraved by Every in part fifty of Graves' continuation of the engraved work of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1861. On the other hand, it is not in Collins' catalogue of Sir Joshua's works (1857; but this is certainly incomplete), and there is a picture in the National Portrait Gallery, attributed to Romney, which is almost a replica of this.
38. B. P. Symons (p. 175), seventeenth Warden. Painted by H. W. Pickersgill.
39. W. Tournay (p. 158), sixteenth Warden. Painted by T. Kirkley, 1825.
40. J. Trapp (p. 126), first Professor of Poetry. Copied by J. Smith, 1825.

The bust of Lord Westbury is by Baily.

In the Senior Common Room there are second portraits of Bishop Wilkins, Bishop Ironside, and Speaker Onslow. There is also the portrait of "Mother George," and a curious picture of the Pool of Bethesda, by Van Delen; the artist excelled in representing Greek architecture, and in this painting the miracle is quite lost in the magnificence of the "Five Porches."

In the Warden's lodgings there are a number of probable replicas, and also the original pictures of the Founder and Foundress, painted in 1595; these are admirably reproduced in Mr. Jackson's *Wadham* (pp. 186–8), to which I must refer any who wish for further information as to the art treasures of the lodgings.

III.—LIST OF WARDENS AT WADHAM COLLEGE

[A star prefixed to the name implies there is a portrait in the Hall.]

1. *Wright, Robert, 1613.
2. Fleming, John, 1613–1617.
3. *Smyth, William, 1617–1635.
4. Estcott, Daniel, 1635–1644.
5. Pitts, John, 1644–1648.
6. *Wilkins, John, 1648–1659.
7. *Blandford, Walter, 1659–1665.
8. *Ironside, Gilbert, 1665–1689.
9. *Dunster, Thomas, 1689–1719.
10. *Baker, William, 1719–1724.
11. Thistlethwayte, Robert, 1724–1739.
12. *Lisle, Samuel, 1739–1744.

13. Wyndham, George, 1744–1777.
14. Gerard, James, 1777–1783.
15. *Wills, John, 1783–1806.
16. *Tournay, William, 1806–1831.
17. *Symons, Benjamin Parsons, 1831–1871.
18. *Griffiths, John, 1871–1881.
19. *Thorley, George Earlam.

INDEX

ALBAN Hall, 40
Allen, B., 132
Allies, T. W., 165
Ancketyll, H., 31
Andrew J., 189
Arnold, J., steward of the Wadhams, 13
Arnold, W., architect of the College, 13, 17
Atkins, R., 62
Austin, S., 82
Austin, W., 141; Warner exhibitioner, 146 (*note*)
Austin Friars, 7; remains of friary 8; disputations with, 10
Aynscombe, J., 108

BAKER, T., 56
Baker, W., 100, 116; election as Warden, 130-1; character of, 132
Badham, C., 169
Bampfield, F., 51
Barber, College, 28
Barge New, 201
Baring, T. C., 168; 188
Barnett, S. A., 189
Bastard, E. W., 203
Bath and Wells, Bishop of, Visitor, 6; Laud as V., 32; in Harrington's case, 48; dispute with Warden Ironside, 89
Battellars, 27
Bear, G., 117
Bedford, Earl of, 56
Beef Steak Club, old customs at, 150; foundation of, 183
Beesley, Professor, 185
Behn, A., on Creech, 98; on Sprat, 103
Bentley, R., at Wadham, 121; dispute with Hody, 122
Bethell, R. *See* Lord Westbury
Bible Clerks, 20
Bisse, Dr., bequest of books, 36; character of B.'s books; portrait of B., 38
Blake, R., 40; his portrait, 41 (*note*); 214; his brother, 41
Blandford, W., submits to Puritan Visitation, 62; Warden and Vice-Chancellor, 88
Blew, W. J., 165
Blore, architect, 190
Boat Club founded, 195; refounded, 196; colours of 198 (*note*)
Bolton, J., 17
Book Club, 167–8
Boswell, W., original fellow, 2 (*note*); benefactor to library, 43 (*note*)
Bradford, J., 144
Brancker, T., 169
Bridges, J. H., 185
Buildings, Cap. ii.; No. ix. staircase added, 128; "back lodgings," 170; Nos. x. and xi., 171
Burges, C., 33–4
Bush, S., benefactor of library, 145

CARR, C. R., 200
Caswell, E., 96

Chandeliers in Hall, 157
Chapel. *Antechapel*, Windows in 17; disputations in, 24; burials in, 44; monuments in, 30, 36, 45, 119 (*note*); 159, 166; glass in, 192; *Chapel*, size of, 16; windows of, 17; woodwork of, 17–18; old glass in, 51–2; rearrangement of glass, 191–2; floor of, 109; ceiling of, 190; chapel consecrated, 18
Charles I., 39, 56–7
Charter, Royal, given, 7
Chemistry, Mayow's services to, 78; Chem. Society founded, 96; Chem. in 18th cent., 142
Childers, H. C., 189
Church, R. W., as Proctor, 178–9; at Wadham, 180
Clarke, J. E., quoted, 196; 200
Codrington, R. H., 188; founder's kin, 23
Coffee-houses, 91, 151
Coker, W., 36
Common Room, Senior, fitted up, 109–110; lectures in, 138; pictures in, 129, 216; Common Room, Junior, 200
Congreve, R., 184; and Positivism, 185
Cook, T. A., 201
Corpus Christi College, N. Wadham, at 2; statutes of, 5; rooms at, 15
Costard, G., 141
Cousins, F. C., 205
Creech T., 97–9
Cricket at Wadham, 203

Darbyshire, S. B., 204
Desborough, V., 82
Discipline, severe, 25–26; corporal punishment, 25; relaxation of after 1660, 91–2; in 18th cent., 133–4
Dornford, J., 163
D'Oiley, C., 47
Dry, W. J., 195
Drake, T. 42
Duff, E. G., 24, 36, 212
Dunster, Warden, 115, *seq.*
Durham, W., 41–42
Dymoke, C., 47
Dyne, J. B., 170

Essex, Estates in, 4, 38
Estcott, D., Warden 31; buried in Chapel 44; as Proctor, 48; 85
Eveleigh, J., 137, 161
Evelyn, J., quoted 72, 76
Examinations weekly in College, 25; formal character of, in 18th century, 135–6; new statute of 1800, 159, *seq.*; in Literae Humaniores, 165, *seq.*

Feild, E., 164
Fellows, qualifications for, 21; appointed by Foundress, 20; fellowships, lay and terminable, 22, 186; Founders' kin, 23 *note*; defaulting, 132; non-residence of, 133; fellowships thrown open, 186
Finch, T. R., 200
Flavell, J., 45
Fleming, Warden, 44
Forster, T., 121
Founder's kin, 23 (*note*); 88
Fox, H. W., 182
Freeke, W., 117
Fry, C. B., 203

Garden, in 17th cent. 84–5; changes in 18th cent. 147, 155; banquet in, 166; in front of College, 147. Warden's, beginning of, 85; N. part of, 155; mound in, 157 and *note*
Garrets, fitted up, 147
Gauden, J., 50
Genefar, S., 105

George, Mother, 129
Gill, A., 32
Girdler, T., 130
Girdlestone, C., 164
Glass, Stained at Wadham. *See* Chapel
Godolphin, C., 101; Henry, 100; Sir W., 101
Goodridge, J., 86–7, 166 (*note*)
Gothic, Late in Oxford, 13, 15, 16
Gower, T., 39
Gresham College, 72; Professors at, 76, 83, 86
Griffiths, J., 179, 182; collection of, 41
Grinling Gibbons, 110
Guidott, T., 79

Hall, N., 92
Hall, roof of, 15; size of, 15; description of, 16; floor of, 16; windows of, 158; fireplace of, 158
Harrington, J., 48–9
Harris, J., 142; portrait of, 143, 215
Harris, T., 30, 36
Harrison, F., 185
Haslewood. F., 105
Hastings, Lord, 127
Headington quarries, 14
Henley Crew, 199; Regatta, 196; Trophy, 200
Herbert, Sir E., 56
Hody, H., 97, 118–120; portrait, 121; exhibitions, 120, 166; scholarships, 121
Holt, T., 12
How, W. W., 181
Hulsh, A., 45
Hunton, P., 46

Inglesant, John, 56
Ilminster, Wadham house at, 2; tombs at, 6, 43; altar of Ilminster Church, 18
Ireland Scholarship, 168–9
Ironside, G., Warden, 89; and Wood, 94; portraits of, 95; and King James, 105–7; gift of plate, 111; character of, 94–5

Jackson, T. G., 187; his book in Wadham, Cap. ii. and pass
James I., King, 7, 41
Jayne, F. J., 190
Jeamson, T., 79
Johnson, E. R., 188, 199
Joyliff, G., 78

Kemeys, G., 108, 109
Kennicott, B., 139, 140

Lake, W. H., 162
Lambert, W. F. K., 201
Latton, W., 103
Laud, Archbishop, 32, 33, 48, 49
Lee, S, 63, 79–81; quoted, 207
Lee, W., 127
Lee, W. S., 205
Leigh, T., 51
Library, founding of, 36; recasting of, 145; and Appendix; other benefactions, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 50, 63, 74, 86, 99, 101, 121, 139, 145, 180
Lindsay, G. C. 205
Ling, Van, 53 *seq.*
Linton, H., 203; S., 203
Lisle, S., 134
Littlewood, R. B., 205
Lloyd, N., 94, 99
Lloyd, W., 81
Love, N., 47
Lovelace, Lord, 82, 102
Lushington, H., 213
Lyndesay, T., 100

Maconochie, A. H., 181
Manton, T., 51
Marmion, S., 44
Massie, E., 168
Maton, R., 46
Maynard, E., 105

Mayo, R., 61
Mayow, J., 78
Meade, E., 163
Medals, college collection of, gift of Dr. Griffiths, 182; referred to, 41, 54
Medley, J., 164
Medlicott, H. E., 200
Merton Quad, 12; Chapel 16, 40
Michell, R., 168
Miller, J., 133 (*note*)
Monk, N., 47
Morgan, T., 162
Music in Wadham, 74; Holywell Music Room, 151

Napier, R., 76
Nicholls, W., 120

Ogle, O., 200
Onslow, A., 127–8
Orange, William of, 111, 114
Organ, 192; completed and cased 193
Overton, J. H., 189
Oxford Movement, 178 *seq*

Page, H. V., 203
Palk, R., 143
Parker, S., 81
Parsons, J., 140
Parsons, John, 137; portrait, 161, 212
Pester, J., 143
Pine, L., 61
Pitt, C., 126
Pitt, R., 96
Pitts, J., Warden, 31; and Puritan Visitors, 57–9
Plate surrendered, 56; communion plate, 57, 111; Loving-cup, 128
Pope, W., 76; as Proctor, 83
Portman, Sir J., 45
Positivism, 184
Pratt, J., 102–3
Pyle, F., 89

Raleigh, C., 42
Ranken, C. E., 200
Reynolds, Sir J., 215
Richards, H., 16, 158
Richards, R., 143
Ridsdale, S.O.B., 200, 203
Robertson, W., 200
Robertson, W. St. L., 201
Rochester, Earl of, 83
Rogers, B. B., 189
Rooke, L., 76
Rooms in original arrangement, 15; in Back Quad, 171–2. *See* Garrets
Royal Society, 71–2
Russell, J., 82

Salter, N., 92
Sampson, J. C., 159
Scholars Qualifications of, 22; day of election of, 22
Scroop, Sir C., 98
Sedley, Sir C., 82
Sermons at Wadham, 18, 191
Servants, 18, 27
Shirley, W. W., 23 (*note*), 187
Skelton, H., 205
Skinner, W., 163
Smith, Robert, 79
Smyth, Warden, 31, 42, 57
Soames, H., 164
Somerset, workmen from, 12; architecture, 17
Sonman, Van, 129
Southrop, 45
Speke, P. 132
Spicer, J., 17
Sprat, T., 77 *seq.*; poet, 98; Tory, 103
Statutes, 8, and Cap. iii.
Stillingfleet, J., 121
Stokes, G., 32
Stowe, A., 18
Strangewayes, G., 54
Strangewayes, Sir J., 54
Strangewayes, N., 88
Strangewayes, W., 104

Sydenham, F., 141
Sydenham, H., 31
Sydenham, T., 57, 78
Symons, B. P., Warden, 164, and Cap. xi.

Thistlethwayte, A., 145
Thistlethwayte, R., 133
Thomas, W., 132
Thorley, G. E., as bursar, 86; as Warden, 188
Thorley, J. T., 200
Tournay, W., 156 *seq.*
Trapp, J., 124
Turner, Sir W., 90–91

University Commission of 1850, 185–6; of 1882, 87, 186

Visitor. *See* Bath *v.* Wells, Bishop of
Visitors, Parliamentary, Cap. v. pass
Vores, C., 165

Wadham, N. at C. C. C., Oxford, 2; Wood's stories as to, 3; his deathbed instructions, 4–5; his tomb, 6; portrait of, 6
Wadham, D., her marriage, 2; chooses site, 7, 10; benefactions of, 38; death of, 43; portrait of, 43; letters of, quoted, 7; 29; 30; 38–9
Wadhurst, 108
Warden, office of, 20 *seq.*; to remain unmarried, 5; marriage of, permitted, 156 (*note*)
Ward, Seth, 75–6
Warner, R., 145, and Appendix I.
Watson, A., 188
Wauchope, D., 196
West Country connection, 30, 67
Westbury, Lord; election as scholar, 166; his monument, 166; founder of Book Club, 167
Whaley, N., 124
White, J., 138–9
White, "Republican," 118
Whiting, C., 107
Wilkins, J., Warden, 59; leader of Independents, 64; marriage of 65, Cap. vi. pass; portrait of, 110
Willis, R., 100, 116–7
Willoughby, J., 49
Wills, J., 153 *seq.*
Wilson, D., 165
Woodward, R., 143
Wren, C., plate, donor of, 68; pupil of Wilkins, 72–4; 100
Wright, C., 29
Wright, R., first Warden, 18, 28 *seq.*; bishop, 29
Wright-Henderson, P. A.; first open fellow, 186; quoted, 169
Wyndham, Sir J., 4
Wyndham, T., 126; benefaction of 144

Zouche, R., 59

Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co.
London & Edinburgh

December 1898

SOME BOOKS PUBLISHED BY

F. E. ROBINSON

FULL CATALOGUE ON APPLICATION

20 Great Russell Street

Bloomsbury, London

TIMES.—"We are glad to welcome the first two volumes of what promises to be an excellent series of College Histories. . . . Well printed, handy and convenient in form, and bound in the dark or light blue of either University, these small volumes have everything external in their favour. As to their matter, all are to be entrusted to competent men, who, if they follow in the steps of the first two writers, will produce records full of interest to everybody who cares for our old Universities."

Universities of Oxford and Cambridge

Two Series of Popular Histories of the Colleges

To be completed in Twenty-one and Eighteen Volumes respectively 23

EACH volume will be written by some one officially connected with the College of which it treats, or at least by some member of that College who is specially qualified for the task. It will contain: (1) A History of the College from its Foundation; (2) An Account and History of its Buildings; (3) Notices of the Connection of the College with any Important Social or Religious Events; (4) A List of the Chief Benefactions made to the College; (5) Some Particulars of the Contents of the College Library; (6) An Account of the College Plate, Windows, and other Accessories; (7) A Chapter upon the best known, and other notable but less well-known Members of the College.

Each volume will be produced in crown octavo, in a good clear type, and will contain from 200 to 250 pages (except two or three volumes, which will be thicker). The illustrations will consist of full-page plates, containing reproductions of old views of the Colleges and modern views of the buildings, grounds, &c.

The two Series will extend over a period of about two years, and no particular order will be observed in the publication of the volumes. The writers' names are given on the opposite page.

Price 5s. net. per Volume

These volumes can be ordered through any bookseller or they will be sent by the Publisher on receipt of published price together with postage.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY,
BERKELEY

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

Books not returned on time are subject to a fine of 50c per volume after the third day overdue, increasing to $1.00 per volume after the sixth day. Books not in demand may be renewed if application is made before expiration of loan period.

FEB 21 1924

6Aug'53HD
JUL 3 1954 LU
3Jun'63RV
REC'D LD
MAY 25 1963

10m-12,'23

YB 17795

336569

LF725
W4

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY